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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY
W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.R.S.,
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.,
AND
BARCLAY V. HEAD.

NEW SERIES.—VOL. XI.



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NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON,
DECEMBER, 1871.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
OF LONDON,
DECEMBER, 1871.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1870—1871.

OCTOBER 20, 1870.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Carlos Camerino, Esq., of Xeres, was duly elected a member of the Society.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux Arts de Belgique. 38^{me} Année, 2^{me} Série. t. xxviii., 1869. From the Society.

2. Smithsonian Report, 1868. From the Smithsonian Institution.

3. Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. Nouvelle Série, 1869.

4. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1869 Parts III. and IV.; 1870 Part I. and Tillæg til Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1869. From the Society of Northern Antiquaries.

5. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 5^{me} Série, tome ii., 4^{me} livraison. From the Society.

6. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. i., 4th Series, No. 3. From the Society.

7. Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs Petits Deniers dits Sceattas: Essai historique et numismatique. Par M. J. Dirks. From the Author.

8. Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Namur. Par M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

9. *Curiosités numismatiques; Pièces rares ou inédites.* 16^{me} article. Par M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

10. *Don Juan Perès.* Par M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

11. *Mason's Monthly Coin and Stamp Collector's Magazine.* Vol. iv., Feb. 1870, No. 2.

12. *The Gliddon Mummy-case in the Museum of the Smithsonian Institution.* By C. Pickering, Esq., M.D. From the Author.

13. *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.* 1^{re} trimestre de 1870. From the Society.

14. *On Current German Thalers.* By G. Smith, Esq., Jun. From the Author.

15. *A List of Corporation Medals; with an Appendix of other Medals struck privately or for sale, having reference to the same corporate body or its members.* By W. Blades, Esq. From the Author.

16. *Compte rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique pour l'année 1868, avec Atlas.* From the Commission.

Mr. Evans exhibited a British gold coin of the class inscribed *vocorio*, lately found near Portsmouth.

Mr. C. T. Newton read a paper by himself "On a Remarkable Stater of River-Gold, or Electrum, in the collection of the Bank of England, now deposited in the British Museum." This interesting stater is probably the only one in existence of so early a date bearing an inscription. Mr. Newton's paper is printed in the *Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. x., p. 237.

Dr. Aquilla Smith contributed a paper "On Money of Necessity, issued in Ireland in the Reign of King James II.," commonly called in England "Gun-money," and in Ireland "Brass-money." Printed in vol. x., p. 244.

NOVEMBER 17, 1870.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., Secretary, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Batty's Catalogue of the Copper Coinage of Great Britain,

Ireland, British Isles, and Colonies, &c. Part VI. Halfpenny tokens, &c. From the Author.

2. Selden, "De Nummis." From George Eyre Brook, Esq.

Mr. Frazer sent for exhibition impressions of a gold coin of Charles I., struck from the die of a sixpence, and of a British crown of James I., without the letters I.R. on the reverse. Mr. Frazer also communicated a note and drawings of some Chinese coins of the Tae-Ping dynasty.

Mr. Coombs exhibited a large brass coin of Plautilla, found at Rome, of a new and unpublished type, having on the obverse PLAVTILLA AVGVSTA, and on the reverse DIANA LVCIFERA.

Mr. Wyon exhibited a medal of Louis XIII. of France, having on the *obr.* LVDOVIC XIII. D.G. FRANCOR. ET NAVARRAE REX, and on the *rev.* ANNA AVGVS. GALLIAE ET NAVARRAE REGINA.

Mr. Williams exhibited a new method of mounting electro-types of coins upon cardboard.

Mr. Evans exhibited a silver coin of Carausius: obverse, IMP. CARAVSIVS. P.F. AVG.; reverse, [CON] CORDIA AVG., two hands joined; in the exergue, (R.S) R. Owing to the position of the die in striking, a part of the legend of the reverse is wanting. Mr. Akerman, in his "Roman Coins relating to Britain" (p. 121), quotes a coin with this legend from Haym; it is not, however, to be found in the "Tesoro Britannico," though a coin with CONCORDIA MILIT is there given, this being the usual legend with the type of the joined hands. No similar coin is described by Stukely or Cohen, nor is the type given in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," so that it may be regarded as unpublished.

General Lefroy, F.R.S., communicated a paper on a hoard of gold coins discovered in 1828 in the parish of Crondal, Hants. This is printed in vol. x., p. 164.

DECEMBER 15, 1870.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Der Tempel des Capitolinischen Jupiter. By the Baron von Koehne. From the Author.

2. Medaillen Peter's des Grossen. By the Baron von Koehne. From the Author.

3. A Bronze Medal commemorating the visit of the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Azis, to the City of London. From the Corporation of the City.

Mr. Golding exhibited a copper coin attributed to Calagurris (Florez, Tab. 58, No. 1), having on the obverse the letters L. Q. V. F. Q. I. S. C. F., with a head, nude, to the left; and on the reverse, M. C. F., with the type of Europa riding on the bull; also a small medal by Simon, commemorating the marriage of Claypole with the daughter of Oliver Cromwell.

Mr. Lincoln exhibited, on behalf of M. Henzenroeder, a rubbing of an Irish groat of Henry VI.; a large brass coin of Sextilia, mother of Aulus Vitellius, probably false; and an altered coin of Annia Faustina, with the reverse Pudicitia.

Mr. Evans exhibited a forgery of a penny of Edward the Confessor. Obverse, EADVVEARD REX; bust, left, with sceptre; reverse, ARONE: ON: EOFEK.

Mr. Barclay Head exhibited an electrotype of a new and unpublished tetradrachm of Orophernes, King of Cappadocia, circ. B.C. 158, of whom no coins were previously known. (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi., p. 19).

JANUARY 19, 1871.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland. Vol. i., 4th Series, October, 1870, No. 4. From the Society.

2. Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, n. s., vol. x., session 1869—70. From the Society.

3. Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut. Année 1869—70, vol. xxv. (iii.) From the Society.

4. Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 5^{me} Série, tom. iii., 1^{re} livraison. From the Society.

Mr. Sim, of Edinburgh, exhibited a coin of Hakon the Fifth, King of Norway, struck at Osloe, near the present Christiania (Schive, Pl. xi., No. 5).

Mr. E. Burns exhibited a gold quarter-noble of Henry the Sixth, which, from some accidental circumstance, was some grains heavier than the usual weight.

Mr. S. Sharp communicated a paper "On some Earthen Coin-Moulds lately discovered at the Ironstone Quarries, Duston, near Northampton, on the site of a Roman Cemetery." This paper is printed in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi., p. 28.

Mr. B. V. Head read a letter from Mr. N. O. Clarke, of Sokoe, in Asia Minor, giving an account of the discovery of five tetradrachms of Orophernes, King of Cappadocia. This letter is appended to Mr. Newton's paper in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi., p. 25.

FEBRUARY 16, 1871.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

James Ferguson, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table :—

1. Discoveries made during Excavations at Canterbury in 1868. By James Pilbrow, Esq., F.S.A. From the Author.

2. Jetons muets des Receveurs de Bruxelles. 5^{me} Article, par M. R. Chalon. From the Author.

3. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, N.S., vol. v., Part I. From the Society.

4. The Journal of the London Institution, vol. i., Nos. 1 and 2. From the Institution.

Major Hay exhibited a specimen of Sycee silver boat-money and various other coins.

Mr. Blades exhibited a five-franc piece of the French Republic of 1870, also a cast of a medal of Sigismund Feierabend, a printer of Frankfurt, dated 1585.

Mr. Frentzel exhibited specimens of the iron crosses given to the soldiers of the Prussian army in 1813 and 1870, the former of which bears the letters "F. W.," and in the centre of the cross three oak-leaves; the latter has simply "W. 1870."

The Rev. A. Pownall exhibited specimens of the new sovereigns of 1871, the reverse of which is from Pistrucci's old die of 1821, the figure 2 having apparently been altered to a 7. Mr. Pownall also exhibited an impression of a forged coin of King John, purporting to have been struck at Durham: he thought that these forgeries were now being fabricated in considerable numbers, and sold to unwary collectors throughout the country. The coin in question was offered to Mr. Pownall by a Mr. Dormer, of Stretton-on-Dunsmore, near Rugby.

Mr. A. H. Pechell exhibited two ancient British coins in gold, found on the foreshore of South Ferriby, near Barton-on-Humber. One of them is of the type Evans, XVI., 10, and weighs $67\frac{1}{2}$ grains; it appears to be an ancient forgery plated with gold. The other is of an unpublished type, and is of interest as offering a sort of connecting link between the Norfolk and Yorkshire coins. The obverse is much like Evans, Pl. B. 2, and the reverse is of the same character as Pl. XVII. 5, but has above it a long lozenge containing four pellets, below it, part of a tribrach with curved arms, and in front a wheel; the weight is $85\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

The Rev. Assheton Pownall read a paper "On some Roman Coins of the Third Century, found at Lutterworth, in Leicester-

shire, in 1869," in the course of which he stated his opinion, in the interest of numismatic and historical research, that the operation of the revived assertion of the Crown's right to treasure-trove did not work beneficially.

Mr. Pownall's paper will be found in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi., p. 169.

MARCH 16, 1871.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Herbert A. Grueber, Esq., of the British Museum, was elected a Member of the Society.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table:—

1. History of India, by Sir H. Elliot, vol. iii. From Lady Elliot.

2. Medals of Canada, Pt. I. Prince of Wales' Medals, by Alfred Sandham, Esq. From the Author.

3. Roman Remains found at Duston, Northamptonshire. By S. Sharp, Esq. From the Author.

4. Journal of the London Institution, vol. i., No. 3. From the Institution.

Mr. Evans exhibited a gold coin of the Emperor Postumus, found many years ago at Gillingham, Kent. On the reverse, is VIC · GERM · P · M · TR · P · V · COS · III · P · P, with the device of Victory crowning the Emperor, both figures standing to the left. The type is rare, but has been published by M. de Witte, and in Cohen, Supplement, No. 32. He also exhibited another coin of the same Emperor, but of finer workmanship, and with the reverse of ROMAE AETERNAE, Cohen, No. 152.

Mr. C. R. Taylor exhibited a double penny of William I. or II., reading on the obverse PILLELM REX, and on the reverse

IEGLPINE ON PIN. The type is the same as Hawkins, Pl. xviii., No. 241. This curious and hitherto unknown piece is larger as well as thicker than the penny; its weight is 39·5 grs.: it is in good condition, but owing to the cross on the reverse being traceable on the obverse, the latter has a slightly blurred appearance. Moneyers of the name of IEGLPINE are given in Hawkins's account of the Beaworth Find to pennies of the "Pax" type of the Chester, Ipswich, Hereford, and Wallingford mints, but to none of Winchester.

Mr. Neck communicated a paper "On the Silver Coinage of Henry IV., V., VI. See Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi., p. 93.

APRIL 20, 1871.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Journal of the London Institution, vol. i. Nos. IV. and V. From the Institution.

2. Imitations des monnaies au type Esterlin frappées en Europe pendant le xiii^{me} et le xiv^{me}, siècle, par J. Chautard. From the Author.

3. The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi. By Edward Thomas, Esq. From the Author.

4. Der Grabfund von Wald-Algesheim, erläutert von Ernst Aus'm Werth. From the Society of the Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande.

5. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. Heft xlix. From the Society.

6. Revue de la Numismatique Belge, 5^{me} Série, tome iii., 2^{me} livraison. From the Society.

7. Catalogue de la Collection du feu Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, 3^{me} partie, les Monnaies du Temps moderne. Tome i.

Mr. Evans exhibited a sceatta, bearing a Runic inscription, and formerly assigned to Ethilberht I., of Kent (Ruding, Pl. iii.), but probably of Æthelræd I., King of Mercia, A.D. 675—704; also twelve coins of William I. or II. and Henry I., forming part of a hoard lately found in Bedfordshire. They are pennies of the types engraved in Hawkins's "English Silver Coinage," Nos. 244, 246, 247, 250, and 252.

Mr. Barclay V. Head read a paper, communicated by M. F. de Sauley, "On the Coins bearing the Legends, ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ, ANTIOXEΩN TΩN EN ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ, ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗΙ, and having on the reverse the figure of the Olympian Zeus." This paper is printed in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi., p. 69.

MAY 18, 1871.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table :—

1. Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland, vol. i., 4th Series, No. 5. From the Society.

2. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Band V., No. 3. From the Society.

3. Egypte Ancienne, 1^{re} partie, Monnaies des Rois, par M. F. Feuadent. From the Author.

4. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest, xii^{me} Série, 2^{me}, 3^{me}, et 4^{me} trimestres de 1870. From the Society.

5. Νομίσματα τῆς Νήσου Ἀμοργοῦ καὶ τῶν τριῶν αὐτῆς πόλεων Αἰγιάλης, Μινώας, καὶ Ἀρκεσίνης.

6. Batty's Catalogue of the Copper Coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Isles and Colonies. Part VII. Half-penny tokens. From the Author.

Mr. Golding exhibited a quarter noble of Edward III., struck after his twenty-seventh year, with a cross above the shield on the obverse; also one of Edward IV., with a star and a rose on either side of the shield.

Mr. Evans read a paper, translated by himself from the Danish of Herr C. J. Schive, giving an account of the weight of English and Northern coins in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This paper is published in the Num. Chron., N.S., vol. xi., p. 42.

JUNE 15, 1871.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Anniversary Meeting were read and confirmed. The Report of the Council was then read to the Meeting, as follows :—

GENTLEMEN,—In accordance with the usual custom of this Society, the Council have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society at this, another Anniversary Meeting.

The Council have to announce the resignations of—

Captain Charles Compton Abbott.	|	T. D. E. Gunston, Esq.
James Edwin Cureton, Esq.	|	M. E. C. Phillips, Esq.

On the other hand they have much pleasure in recording the election of the four following Members :—

Carlos Camerino, Esq.	|	Herbert A. Grueber, Esq.
James Ferguson, Esq.	|	R. H. Lang, Esq.

According to our Secretary's Report, our numbers are therefore as follows :—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Total.
Members, June, 1870	5	136	38	179
Since elected	—	4	—	4
	5	140	38	183
Deceased	—	—	—	—
Resigned	—	4	—	4
Erased	—	—	—	—
	5	136	38	179

The Council have much pleasure in doing this on the present occasion, although their Report must necessarily be of unusual brevity—as they have to record no changes whatever since our meeting in June last year. They have the satisfaction of informing the Society that they have lost no one by death,¹ and they are not able, therefore, to give additional length to their Report by any obituaries. They have, however, much satisfaction in informing the Society that another ten volumes of the Chronicle have been completed—and that an index of subjects and authors has been prepared by the diligent care of your Secretary, Mr. Head. For this additional service the Council considers Mr. Head deserves the best thanks of the Society.

The Council takes this opportunity of impressing upon the members of the Society in general the great necessity of sustaining the literary importance of the Chronicle. This, it will at once be seen, can only be done by the united efforts of all those members who are in any way qualified, by their acquaintance with special branches of the science, to contribute articles and to make known to the numismatic world the results which they have arrived at during their study of private and public collections. The best thanks of the Society are due to those gentlemen who have hitherto given up a considerable amount of their time to this object, especially to Major-Gen. Cunningham, who for some years past has favoured us with so large an amount of matter in his important series of articles on the coins of Alexander's successors in the East.

¹ Since this was written we have had the misfortune to lose by death the three following members:—Henry Frederic Holt, Esq., J. F. W. de Salis, Esq., and Edward Wigan, Esq.; and, by resignation, the four following:—Sutton Fraser Corkran, Esq., H. W. Rolfe, Esq., Captain Stubbs, Captain F. C. P. Turner.

Memoirs of our deceased members will be given in the next Annual Report.

These articles, owing to the General's departure for India, have necessarily come to an end; and had it not been for the temporary cessation of the publication of the *Revue Française*, during the war between France and Germany, and to the fact that the celebrated numismatist, M. de Sauley, has been kind enough to furnish us with more than one essay of considerable length, which he would otherwise have published in France, the editors would not have known where to turn for matter to fill the four quarterly parts of this year's *Chronicle*. Now this is not as it should be. When we look across the Channel to the societies of France, Belgium, and Germany, which are labouring in the same field as ourselves, we see at a glance that for one contributor to our Review, each of these flourishing societies has at least a dozen, and that we are distanced both in the number of our articles and in the importance of the subject-matter.

The Council looks forward with no small anxiety to the year upon which we are now about to enter. The editors are sadly in want of contributions to fill the accustomed number of pages in each part, and should these fail, the Society must not be surprised if there is a corresponding falling off in the bulk of the *Chronicle*. They cannot make bricks without straw. The Society is financially in a more flourishing condition than it has been at any previous time. This would naturally lead us to infer that there are more who take an interest in the furtherance of the science of numismatics. The facts, however, do not bear out the inference: articles are not forthcoming. The Council, therefore, earnestly entreats all those who have the welfare of the *Chronicle* and the very existence of the Society at heart, to do their utmost both to contribute papers themselves, and to induce their friends and fellow-members to do the same.

The Report of our Treasurer is as follows:—

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the Numismatic Society, from June, 1870, to June, 1871.

Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH JOHN FREDERICK NECK, TREASURER. Cr.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co, for Printing Chronicle, Part 37	26	19	5	By Balance received of Dr. Freudenthal	189	16	5
" Ditto ditto ditto Part 38	23	16	8	" Mr. J. R. Smith, for Chronicles	45	6	6
" Ditto ditto ditto Part 39	29	4	0	" 2 Sets of Old Series of Chronicles, per Mr. Head	8	8	0
" Ditto ditto ditto Part 40	30	12	0	" Entrance Fees	4	4	0
" Mr. J. H. Rimbault, for Woodcuts	2	5	0	" Annual Subscriptions	124	19	0
" Mr. F. J. Lees, for Engraving	12	12	0	/			
" Mr. Vaux, Rent to Christmas	10	0	0				
" Ditto Midsummer and Refreshments	12	2	0				
" Mr. Head, for Postage and Stationery	3	8	0				
" Ditto ditto ditto	1	12	0				
" Messrs. Rollin and Fenardent, Cohen, 7 vols.	6	0	0				
" Engrossing Petition to Treasury	0	1	6				
" Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for part cost of Engraving	1	11	6				
" Fire Insurance	0	15	0				
" Collector, for Commission and Postage	6	11	2				
" Balance	205	3	8				
	<u>£372 13 11</u>								£372 13 11
				By Balance in hand	205	3	8
				J. FREDERICK NECK, HON. TREASURER.			

The Council, feeling that the operations of the law of Treasure-Trove tends to the dispersion or absolute destruction of hoards of coins, and thus to annihilate their scientific value, has presented a memorial to the Treasury to the following effect:—

TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S
TREASURY.

The Memorial of the President and Council of the Numismatic
Society of London,

Sheweth,

1. That the Law of Treasure-Trove, which vests either in the Crown, or in some instances in the lord of the manor, the property in coins and antiquities formed of the precious metals, and found beneath the soil or otherwise concealed, tends to the destruction of numerous objects of antiquity and to the concealment of the circumstances of their discovery, which are frequently of great scientific value.

2. That it also tends to the discouragement of the study of antiquities by private individuals; while many objects not legally treasure-trove are often supposed to be, and are even claimed as such.

3. That practically it is undesirable to have one law for objects found a few inches below the surface of the soil, and another for those found upon it, which latter, when no owner who has lost them is forthcoming, belong to the finder.

4. That the practice of the Treasury in giving to the finder the intrinsic value of the objects found, virtually concedes the principle of their being his property, but, at the same time, does not prevent the constant concealment and destruction of coins and other antiquities; for the mere fact of a claim to them being advanced, accompanied though this may be by the promise of payment for them of an unknown sum at a period always indefinite and often remote, suffices in many cases to deter finders from openly producing the results of their discoveries, and drives them to dispose of such relics clandestinely.

5. That your Memorialists believe that were it once conceded that all objects, the loss of which no owner could prove, were at once vested indisputably in the finder (except where express stipulations to the contrary had been made between employers and employed), the temptation to the concealment or destruction of antiquities would be removed.

6. That they further believe that with such a system, and with efficient local agencies, the national collections of antiquities would be much enriched, and great accessions gained for archæological science.

7. They therefore pray that the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury will take such steps with regard to the claims of the Crown, and, if practicable, with those of the other claimants to treasure-trove, as may remove all temptation to concealment, and tend to the preservation and scientific examination of such antiquities as may hereafter be discovered.

To this Memorial they have received the following reply :—

“Treasury Chambers,
“19th *May*, 1871.

“SIR,

“The Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury have had before them the Memorial of the Numismatic Society of London, which you forwarded on the 3rd inst.; and I am directed to state that my Lords are not prepared to introduce any change in the law of Treasure-Trove, nor in their own practice under it; but that they will endeavour through the agency of the police or otherwise to give greater publicity to the rules which they have laid down about paying the full bullion value of antiquities coming under the description of Treasure-Trove to the finders.

“I am, Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“WILLIAM LAW.

“W. S. VAUX, Esq.,

“13, Gate Street,

“Lincoln's Inn Fields.”

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

President.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., F.S.A.

RT. HON. THE EARL OF ENNISKILLEN, Hon. D.C.L.,
F.R.S., F.G.S.

Treasurer.

J. F. NECK, Esq.

Secretaries.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, Esq.

Foreign Secretary.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Librarian.

W. BLADES, Esq.

Members of the Council.

THOMAS JAMES ARNOLD, Esq., F.S.A.

S. BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.

JOHN DAVIDSON, Esq.

MAJOR HAY, H.E.I.C.S.

THOMAS JONES, Esq., M.R.S.L.

CAPTAIN R. M. MURCHISON.

R. STUART POOLE, Esq.

REV. ASSHETON POWNALL, M.A., F.S.A.

J. S. SMALLFIELD, Esq.

J. WILLIAMS, Esq., F.S.A.

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

ON COINS DISCOVERED DURING RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS.

LAST year, in excavating an ancient temple near Daly, in this island, my workmen uncovered two treasures of silver coins, concealed under the pavements of different chambers. The first was contained in two little earthenware jars, closed with lead at the top, one of which was found in pieces, the other was broken by the pickaxe of the workman, and its contents are in admirable preservation. The second treasure was found about ten days later. Its coins were firmly adhering to one another, and the appearance of the whole gave me the idea of their having been originally confined in a bag, of which time had left us no traces. The condition of the coins seemed at first sight hopeless, and they appeared to the workmen who extracted them as simply pieces of lead. By dint of no small labour I have, however, succeeded in imparting to them a more attractive aspect.

An examination of the contents of the two treasures will clearly show that they were deposited at different periods; nor is it difficult to identify which of the two is the earlier. In one of them—the larger—we have coins

of the most ancient style, having the punch-mark *only* for reverse; while in the other *all*, with the exception of two diminutive pieces, have as perfect *reverses* as *obverses*. In the former we have six different types of coins, whose Cypriote origin is attested by legends in Cypriote characters; and a seventh, which, although bearing no legend, would seem also to be Cypriote. It contains, besides, three different types of coins with Phœnician legends; and seven specimens of the early Athenian tetradrachm. In all, I have been able to distinguish forty-eight varieties of coins, varying, with four exceptions, from size six to eight of Mionnet. A striking difference is observable in the general appearance of the coins contained in the small jars; but an analysis will easily determine whether this is the result of their different preservation, or indicates a higher degree of purity in their alloy. With one exception, they are all of diminutive sizes; and it is also worthy of notice that *none* of the many varieties of Cypriote coins found in the earlier treasure exist in the later. Indeed, only *one* Cypriote type of coin is found in the later treasure; while of the *three* Phœnician coins contained in the earlier, *two* are found in the later. From these facts the following conclusions may naturally be drawn:—

1. That of the two treasures, the one which was originally contained in the presumed bag is the earlier deposit.

2. That that treasure represents a large Cypriote currency, probably of seven, certainly of six, different kingdoms, extending in an unbroken series from the time of the punch-mark for reverse till such a proficiency in the art had been attained as is demonstrated by a well-executed and ornamented reverse.

3. That from some cause or other, when the *later*

treasure was deposited, the *Cypriote* coinage of the *earlier* period was no longer in circulation, while the Phœnician coins of the first period continued to be current, and had new varieties added to them in the second.

4. That from the repetition in the second treasure of the Phœnician coins contained in the first, there is probably no gap, or period unrepresented, between them.

To the coinage which has for the reverse a punch-mark, as in the earliest coins of Athens, Numismatists, I believe, generally give a date anterior to B.C. 600, and as Cyprus was at that period in no way behind her neighbours in knowledge of the arts, we may safely assume a similar date for the Cypriote coinage of that class. It will further be readily conceded, on examination of the eight varieties of the coin having for obverse a sphinx, that a period of at least sixty years is represented in the gradual rise from the punch-mark to an elaborate reverse, and in the issue of so many different varieties. We may then conclude that this first treasure gives us a Cypriote currency, beginning from the close, or possibly the middle, of the seventh century B.C., and extending down through at least sixty years.

It was probably during some great political convulsion in the island that this deposit of coins was made in the ground—a convulsion which we must suppose to have led to the withdrawal from circulation in the island of the large Cypriote coinage which had previously been current. In the history of the island we find that the first convulsion of the kind occurred about B.C. 560, when it was subjugated by Amasis, King of Egypt. Till then, although rendering a nominal submission to Assyria and Babylon, its internal *self*-government remained undisturbed. Under Amasis, however, the change was much

more important. Herodotus says, "He was the first who conquered Cyprus, and subjected it to the payment of tribute," clearly implying that his conquest resulted in a complete subjugation. It became, in effect, a province of Egypt, and probably had an Egyptian garrison and a united government, administering its affairs in the interests of Amasis. We can, therefore, easily suppose that during such a possession of the island by Egypt its various little kings lost all or most of their independence; or, at least, could no longer coin their distinctive monies. On this supposition we have an explanation of the remarkable coincidence, that in the second treasure we find *none* of the Cypriote coins contained in the first. *One* Cypriote type of coin *alone* exists in the second treasure, which is consistent with the assumption that during the possession of the island by Amasis, all its cities were subjected to one united government. The Athenian tetradrachm will serve to confirm or refute the date which I have thus ventured to give to the deposit of the earliest treasure. The weight of our most perfect specimen of that coin is 265 grains, exactly conformable to the new standard of the Athenian coinage instituted by Solon about B.C. 583. In the article entitled "Nummus," in "Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," we read that "in the Solonian system the chief coin was the tetradrachm stamped with the head of Athena and the owl"—a description which correctly represents the coin we find in our treasure. If then, in B.C. 583, the art of coining had attained in Greece to a perfect reverse, we may confidently contend for a similar proficiency at *that* time in Cyprus. Further, a careful examination of the different coins in this earliest treasure will, I think, clearly lead to the conclusion that

it contains no coin far removed from the date, whatever it may be, of its Athenian tetradrachmas.

The possession of the island by Amasis continued till about B.C. 528, when it was wrested from him by Cambyzes, and made tributary to Persia. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, ascended the Persian throne in B.C. 521, and a few years after his accession, developed his admirable system of provincial administration. Cyprus was included, along with Phœnicia, in the fifth division of the empire. Darius was an extensive coiner of money, and apparently also jealous of the coinage of his satraps, as Ariandes, Prefect of Egypt, was put to death about B.C. 510, for having issued in his own name a silver currency for his province. Is it probable, therefore, that Darius would allow the issue of a currency in Cyprus bearing the names of its kings, and without any allusion to the supreme authority? Later on, when the Persian hold of her provinces got weaker, such an assumption as that of coining was overlooked, and it was then, I conjecture, that the Phœnician coins in gold, known to Numismatists, were issued.

The coins in our earliest treasure which bear Phœnician legends already exist in European collections. They are those of Azbaal¹ and Baal-Melek; which are attributed by the Count de Vogué to Citium (see "*Journal Asiatique*," August, 1867). The fact of our treasure being found at Idalium, in Cyprus, certainly seems to favour this attribution; but I cannot free myself of the impression that we have, in this class of coins, the currency of Tyre—a currency which naturally largely circulated in the Phœnician colonies of Cyprus, and generally throughout the island. The extensive number and variety

¹ Azbaal was King of Gebal (Gabala).

of the coins, both in silver and gold, which have for reverse a lion devouring a stag, seems to me to indicate a currency far greater than the little colony of Citium could pretend to. This is also the only class of ancient coins which can with any likelihood be attributed to Phœnicia; so that, in giving it to Citium, we remain without any known currency for Tyre, then the chief emporium of commerce, and naturally needing most largely a circulating medium. In assigning to the coins of Azbaal and Baal-Melek so early a date as B.C. 560, I am opposed to the views of the Duke de Luynes; but the learned Duke *himself* expressed some doubt upon the subject. In his *Memoir on the Sarcophagus of Esmunazar* he says, “*Parmi les médailles des rois Pheniciens d’époques incertaines, celles qui portent pour légende Asbaal et Baal-Melek ont une évidente analogie avec l’inscription d’Esmunazar. En faudrait-il conclure qu’elles remontent à une date aussi reculée? Il ne semble pas possible de le croire, et les considérations qui se rattachent au style, à la fabrication et aux poids de ces médailles, ne permettent pas d’admettre une semblable supposition.*” The testimony of the evident analogy between these coins and the inscription of Esmunazar is, however, much in favour of their early date, and in regard to their weight, it will be observed that it differs in no important degree from the very earliest coins which have no reverse.

Supposing that this coinage with a lion devouring a stag for reverse belongs to Tyre, let us examine her history contemporaneously with that of Cyprus during the sixth century.

B.C. 585. Tyre fell to Nebuchadnezzar during the reign of its king called by Josephus “Ithobaal.”

B.C. 583. Solon was instituting the new standard for

the coinage of Greece (art of coining attained to a perfect reverse?).

B.C. 569. Amasis ascended the throne of Egypt, and a few years after reduced Cyprus to subjection.

B.C. 525. Cambyzes took Egypt, having before wrested Cyprus from Amasis, say B.C. 528.

In regard to the rulers of Tyre during these events we ascertain from Josephus that

Ithobaal,	King,	reigned till	B.C. 575	
Baal,	King,	„ „	B.C. 565,	and was succeeded by a long succes- sion of judges.
Cenabalus,	Judge,	„	2 months	
Chilbes,	Judge,	„	10 „	
Abhera,	Judge,	„	3 „	till B.C. 563
Mitgonus & Gerastratus,	Judges,	„	till	B.C. 557
Balatorus,	Judge,	„	„	B.C. 556
Merbalus,	Judge,	„	„	B.C. 552
Hiram,	Judge,	„	„	B.C. 532

The first of the two kings in the above list bears the same name as the father of Jezebel, wife of Ahab, King of Israel, and is called in Hebrew, Ethbaal. I am not aware that any Phœnician inscription exists by which we are made positively acquainted with the manner in which the name of Ethbaal was written in Phœnician. May the “z” in the daughter’s name not also have entered into that of her father, making it Ezbaal instead of Ethbaal? This may be a more ingenious than correct supposition; but, if possible, it would give us the name of the first of the Phœnician kings whose coins we have in our earliest treasure; and it will be noticed that he was nearly contemporaneous with Esmunazar, supposed by the Duke de Luynes to have reigned from B.C. 574 to 572. In the reign of Ethbaal, we are told that the

inhabitants of Citium refused to pay their tribute to Tyre, whereupon he made an expedition against them, and reduced them to submission.

Succeeding Ethbaal, in the above list, we have Baal, who reigned till B.C. 565 — four years after Amasis had ascended the throne of Egypt. He may not improbably be the king whose coins bear the legend Baal-Melek. It will be observed that of him we have a second type of coin in the first treasure, having for reverse a lion sitting on his haunches, with before him the head of a ram. The ram seems to be a type especially Cypriote, and I should be disposed to conjecture that this last coin was struck by the colony of Citium. At a later time we find the two cities, Citium and Idalium, under Phœnician rule, and as history does not inform us when the union took place, it may possibly have been anterior to the capture of the island by Amasis. If so, two coincidences would be explained :—

1. That a coin bearing the Sphinx for obverse (possibly a coin of Idalium) was *restamped* by Baal-Melek, as is found to be the case in coins No. 42 and No. 47.

2. That this type of coin of Baal-Melek is not found in the later treasure, seeing that the Phœnician colony of Citium shared the fate of the other kingdoms in the island, and became subject to Amasis.

The early date of this last type of coin, and of the reign of Baal-Melek, is attested by the treatment which the coins received at the hands of those among whom they circulated. A large proportion of them have been purposely clipped, and, in some cases, to such an extent as to reduce them to nearly half their original size.

“After Baal,” says Josephus, “judges were appointed in Tyre;” so that, after him, there was a long interval,

during which the rulers of Tyre neither possessed nor assumed the regal dignity. Singularly consistent with this, *none* of the Phœnician coins in our later treasure, except those of Azbaal and Baal-Melek, have legends. After Baal-Melek a change seems to have come over the Phœnician coinage. The reverse of a lion devouring a stag remains the same, but there is no longer, as we have remarked, any legend; and we have for obverse, instead of Hercules armed with a bow and club, *only* the head of Hercules covered with a lion's skin. The absence of a legend would be the natural result of the abolition of an independent government and of the regal dignity.

Although conscious that in the views precedingly expressed I am at variance with the opinions of some of the most learned French Numismatists who have made Cypriote antiquities their especial study, I have not hesitated to express freely my impressions, in the hope that they may lead to such a discussion as will assist to a satisfactory solution of the questions at issue.

I shall not at present attempt to make any attribution of the various Cypriote coins contained in the earlier treasure, but confine myself to the remark that their number appears to be seven, which was also the number of the Cyprian monarchs to whom Sargon gave audience at Babylon in the year B.C. 707, and also the number of the Cyprian kings who contributed to the embellishment of the palace of Ezarhaddon, at Nineveh, about B.C. 670. In the list of the latter we find them described as Ægisthus, King of Idalium; Pythagoras, King of Citium; Ithodagon, King of Paphos; Eurylus, King of Soli; Damastes, King of Curium; the King of Salamis; and the King of Tamissus. It may also be remarked that the Sphinx was a common emblem of Assyria, and its use on

a Cypriote coinage may reasonably point to the time when the island yielded submission to that power.





From the weights of the coins now catalogued, it will be observed that the standard of the Phœnician and Cypriote coinage was probably the same, as the highest weight of a Cypriote coin is found to be 174 grains. That standard can evidently not have been the same as the Solonian standard of Athens, but it more nearly approximates to the Euboic or old Attic. A specimen of the very early coinage of Bœotia (*Obv.*, Bœotian buckler; *Rev.*, punch-mark) in my collection weighs close upon 89 grains, exactly the half of the highest weight of our Cypriote coins. It is also interesting to remark the relative proportions of the different coins in the annexed catalogue. They will be found to be as follows:—





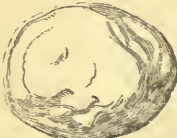





The largest coin weighing 178 grains.			
1-3rd of the same	„	58	„
1-6th	„	28	„
1-12th	„	15	„
1-24th	„	7	„
1-48th	„	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	„












This would indicate a duodecimal computation, which is confirmatory of a statement in Smith's Dictionary upon "Pondera," where it is said, "The division of the day into twelve hours, which Herodotus expressly ascribes to the Babylonians, is not only a striking example of this" (the duodecimal computation) "but a fact peculiarly important in connection with the idea that the measurement of time by water led to the Babylonian system of weights," which the writer before had said "passed from Assyria to Phœnicia." We may now safely add that the same system passed from Phœnicia to Cyprus.


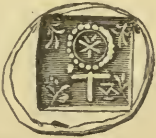















CATALOGUE OF COINS FOUND IN EXCAVATING A TEMPLE AT THE ANCIENT
IDALIUM, CYPRUS, 1869.







TREASURE ORIGINALLY CONTAINED IN A BAG.







No.	Size.	Description.	Highest Weight.	
1	7-8	<i>Obv.</i> Sphinx seated to right; at left side, ☉; no legend. <i>Rev.</i> Punch-mark.	Grs. 167	Duc de Luynes, pl. 12, No. 3.
				
				
2	6	<i>Obv.</i> Sphinx seated to right, before breast, ++ behind wing, VI. between wing and head, + field ornamented with wreaths. <i>Rev.</i> Punch-mark.	171	Two types.
				
				
3	6	<i>Obv.</i> Sphinx seated to right; trace of legend, before face ←, on centre of wing, X, field ornamented. <i>Rev.</i> Lotus flower.	168	
4	7	<i>Obv.</i> Sphinx seated to right; legend, ↑T behind wing, between wing and head a dot, thus • field ornamented. <i>Rev.</i> Lotus flower within border.	171	
5	6	<i>Obv.</i> Sphinx seated to right; legend as No. 4; wing with plumage; before face, trace of legend ÷ <i>Rev.</i> Lotus flower within border.	171	
6	7	<i>Obv.</i> Sphinx seated to left; before face, ≠ behind wing, ↗ <i>Rev.</i> Lotus flower; to right, "osselet"; to left, leaf.	174	Duc de Luynes, pl. 12, No. 4.



No.	Size.	Description.	Highest Weight.	
7	4	  <i>Obv.</i> Sphinx seated to left; no legend; before breast, ✕ <i>Rev.</i> Same as No. 6.	58	
8	6	  <i>Obv.</i> Head of lion, mouth wide open. <i>Rev.</i> Forepart of bull to right; at left corner, ≡ ∇	159	
9	5½	  <i>Obv.</i> Defaced, or without form. <i>Rev.</i> Forepart of bull to right; before it ≡ ✕	171	
10	7	  <i>Obv.</i> Head of lion, mouth wide open. <i>Rev.</i> Croix ansée; circle with pearls; to right and left, ornamentation resembling tree; above, on right side, ≡ below, same side ✕	173	
11	3	  <i>Obv.</i> Bull bounding to right, with head turned backward (as on coins of Sybaris). <i>Rev.</i> Osselet, with, to right, ≡ to left, indistinct, ≡	53	Small size of coin Duc de Luynes, pl. 6, No. 2. which coin has legend on obv.: below bull Π Ϟ

No.	Size.	Description.	Highest Weight.	
			Grs.	
12	5	  <p><i>Obv.</i> Ram sitting to left; legend above ram, indistinct. <i>Rev.</i> Ram's head to right; in right corner, </p>	159	
13	5	  <p><i>Obv.</i> Defaced, or without form. <i>Rev.</i> Ram's head to left; before it, leaf; below, letters, thus, </p>	167	
14	6	  <p><i>Obv.</i> Ram sitting to left. <i>Rev.</i> Ram's head to left, with, in left corner, a device resembling head of horse harnessed.</p>	170	Device in left corner exactly resembles archaic representations of horses harnessed, found in the island.
15	5	<p><i>Obv.</i> Ram to left, within pearled border. <i>Rev.</i> Croix ansée, without ornament.</p>	171	
16	5	<p><i>Obv.</i> Defaced. <i>Rev.</i> Croix ansée, with triple border; in corner, trace of letters.</p>	168	
17	5½	<p><i>Obv.</i> Ram sitting to left. <i>Rev.</i> Croix ansée, with pearls, in centre of circle.</p>	171	Resembles Duc de Luynes, pl. 1, No. 5, which has legend on obverse.
18	5	<p><i>Obv.</i> Ram sitting to left; traces of legend below ram. <i>Rev.</i> Croix ansée, with letter  in pearled circle.</p>	162	
19	6	<p><i>Obv.</i> Ram to left. <i>Rev.</i> Croix ansée, with pearls, and corners of field ornamented.</p>	170	
20	6	<p><i>Obv.</i> Ram sitting to left, with legend; above,  below,  <i>Rev.</i> Croix ansée, corners of field ornamented; no legend.</p>	170	Duc de Luynes, pl. 1, No. 2.
21	4	Small size of above.	6½	



No.	Size.	Description.	Highest Weight.
			Grs.
22	5	  <i>Obv.</i> Ram and legend as in No. 20. <i>Rev.</i> Croix ansée, with letter  and in centre of circle, * corners of field ornamented.	172
23	7	  <i>Obv.</i> Ram sitting to right; over back of ram,  above, legend, indistinct; below,  <i>Rev.</i> Croix ansée; in pearled circle,  , corners of field ornamented; right side of field  left side, 	178
24	6½	<i>Obv.</i> Same as No. 23. <i>Rev.</i> Ditto, but letters in field reversed, thus: right,  left, 	169
25	4½	Plated Coins. — <i>Obv.</i> Ram; legend,  above  below. <i>Rev.</i> None.	179
26	5	<i>Obv.</i> Animal to left, looking round. <i>Rev.</i> None.	168
27	6	<i>Obv.</i> Bull to left. <i>Rev.</i> Head of griffin to left; in left corner of field an ornament.	171
28	6	<i>Obv.</i> Bull to left. <i>Rev.</i> Head of griffin to left; field under head ornamented, as well as left corner.	167
29	6	  <i>Obv.</i> Bull to left, with, above bull,  <i>Rev.</i> Same as No. 28.	173






No.	Size.	Description.	Highest Weight.	
			Grs.	
30	6	<i>Obv.</i> Bull to left, with, above bull, two letters, $\Psi \zeta$ <i>Rev.</i> Same as No. 28, but corner ornament differs.	170	
		 		
31	6	<i>Obv.</i> Bull to left, with "mihir" above; below, between feet, $\chi \times$ before bull, croix ansée, ρ <i>Rev.</i> Dove or eagle flying to left.	169	Better type of Duc de Luynes, pl. 3, No. 7.
		 		
32	8	<i>Obv.</i> Male figure to left, right arm outstretched; from chest to shoulders protrudes an instrument, thus χ left arm akimbo; from both arms fall drapery, in front of which, on left side, is legend $\neq \vee \hat{\iota}$ <i>Rev.</i> Male head to left, horned, bearded, and mustached, within a pearled square (Jupiter Ammon?)	170	
		 		
33	7	<i>Obv.</i> Female head, with circular ear-rings, to right. <i>Rev.</i> Pallas-head to right; casque without crest.	175	
34	6	<i>Obv.</i> Same as No. 33. <i>Rev.</i> Pallas to left.	161	
35	6	<i>Obv.</i> Same as No. 33. <i>Rev.</i> Pallas to right, as in No. 33, but larger.	165	
36	6	<i>Obv.</i> Head diademed, very indistinct. <i>Rev.</i> Same as No. 35.	169	

No.	Size.	Description.	Highest Weight.	
37	5	<i>Obv.</i> Indistinct (probably same as No. 33). <i>Rev.</i> Pallas head to right; casque with crest; in right corner of field, δ	Grs. 163	Majority of coins clipped.
38	5	<i>Obv.</i> Defaced. <i>Rev.</i> Pallas head as in No. 37, better formed, with corner ornament.	166	
39	6	<i>Obv.</i> Hercules, right hand holding bow, left holding club. <i>Rev.</i> Lion, mouth open, sitting on haunches; on field before it, small head of ram; in right corner, legend, $\Lambda\theta\gamma\Lambda$ $\Gamma\Lambda\Upsilon$	172	
		 		
40	8	Same coin, different type. 1 very fine.	168	This coin is a re-stamp of No. 3, in the same way as No. 47.
		 		
41	7	<i>Obv.</i> Hercules, as above. <i>Rev.</i> Lion devouring a stag; above legend $\Gamma\Lambda\Upsilon\Lambda\theta\gamma\Lambda$	169	
42	5	<i>Obv.</i> Hercules, as above. <i>Rev.</i> Lion sitting, as in No. 39; before him, δ in left corner, $\Gamma\Lambda\Upsilon\Lambda$	170	
		 		Three different types of same coin.
43	7	<i>Obv.</i> Hercules, as above. <i>Rev.</i> Lion devouring stag; above legend $\Lambda\theta\gamma\alpha\Lambda$	171	

No.	Size.	Description.	Highest Weight.	
44	3—4	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> Hercules as above, &c., small type of No. 41.	Gr. 57	
45	2	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As in No 41; smallest type of No. 41.	28	
46	3½	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As above; small type of No. 43.	57	
47	6	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> "Surfrappé"; No. 39 upon No. 3, on obverse can be seen 79	155	
				
				
48	7¾	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Athena. <i>Rev.</i> Owl, with, in front, AΘE, tetradrachm; in corner, twig of olive branch.	265	

TREASURE CONTAINED IN TWO SMALL JARS.

1	6	<i>Obv.</i> Hercules clothed with a lion's skin, holding club and bow; underneath bow, croix ansée ⚡ <i>Rev.</i> Lion devouring stag; above legend 74094	170	Finely executed coin.
2	3	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As above, without croix ansée; small size.	57	
3	3	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As above, but legend 409204 Small size.	57	Different types.
4	1¾	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As above, but legend 744094	28	
5	2	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As above; no legend.	27½	
6	2	<i>Obv.</i> As above. <i>Rev.</i> Supposed to represent lion devouring stag.	28	
				
				
7	1	<i>Obv.</i> Head of Hercules with lion's skin. <i>Rev.</i> Lion devouring stag; no legend.	15	Five or six different types.
8	¾	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As above; smaller.	6½	
9	½	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As above; smaller.	3½	

No.	Size.	Description.	Highest Weight.	
			Gr.	
		 		
10	1	<i>Obv.</i> Lion's head. <i>Rev.</i> Lion devouring stag; no legend.	15	
11	1½	<i>Obv.</i> Lion crouching; star over back. <i>Rev.</i> Forepart of lion with fore-paws, in pearled square.	14	Small size of Duc de Luynes, pl. 2, No. 9.
12	¾	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As above, No. 11.	7	
		 		
13	2	<i>Obv.</i> Bull walking to left; above (Mihir?) <i>Rev.</i> Eagle erect to left; in right corner of field a leaf, in left a vase.	26	
14	1	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As above.	13	
15	¾	<i>Obv. and Rev.</i> As above.	6½	
				
16	¾	<i>Obv.</i> Ram's head in high relief. <i>Rev.</i> None.	3¾	
17	¾	Coin which I have not been able to make out.		

R. H. LANG.

LARNACA, CYPRUS,
April, 1870.



II.

ON AN INEDITED TETRADRACHM OF OROPERNES II., KING OF CAPPADOCIA.

BY C. T. NEWTON, M.A.

I BEG to submit to the Numismatic Society the enclosed letter from Mr. Clarke, of Soköi, in Asia Minor, giving an account of a remarkable discovery of silver coins, which took place in April, 1870, in the Temple of Athene Polias at Priene. This temple, after having been partially explored by the Dilettanti Society in the last century,¹ was completely excavated by Mr. Pullan last year under their auspices, when some very interesting sculptures and inscriptions, since presented to the British Museum, were found in the mass of ruins lying on the site. After the excavation had been completed, and a selection of marbles made for the British Museum, the ruins *in situ* were left in a state in which, if no further disturbance had taken place, they would have

¹ Antiquities of Ionia. London, 1821, Pt. 1, pp. 11-28.

been of great interest to all future travellers. The marble pavement of the temple, which was nearly perfect, was cleared of all the ruins, and upon it yet remained the lower courses of the pedestal of a colossal statue, doubtless that of Athene herself, which is mentioned by Pausanias as a celebrated work of art.² In front of this statue a semicircular groove in the pavement marked the position of the metallic gates which protected the figure from near approach. From Mr. Clarke's letter we learn that the pavement and the pedestal upon it have been torn up and ruthlessly destroyed, and that it was under the lowest course of the pedestal that the silver coins were found, one of which is engraved in the accompanying cut. Six of these coins in all were discovered, three of which were actually picked up by Mr. Clarke on the site as narrated in his letter; a fourth was obtained by him subsequently from one of the men working on the spot; a fifth fell into the hands of Mr. Forbes, of Soköi, who has been so obliging as to send me an impression; and a sixth was purchased by me at Priene, and has since been unfortunately lost. These six coins are all silver tetradrachms, which may be thus described:—

Obv.—Male head to right, beardless, and bound with a diadem.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΟΡΟΦΕΡΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. Victory moving to left, clad in a talaric *chiton*, and *diploidion*, holding in right hand a wreath, in left palm-branch; in front of her an owl on an altar; below, the monogram.

There is no doubt that the Orophernes who struck

² Pausan. vii., 5. Ἡσθείης δ' ἄν καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς τῷ ἐν Πριήνῃ ναῶ, τούτῳ μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἔνεκα, Ἡρακλείῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

these coins is Orophernes II., King of Cappadocia. Their discovery illustrates in a remarkable manner the scanty particulars which ancient historians have recorded respecting this prince. He was one of two supposititious sons imposed by Antiochis on her husband Ariarathes IV. in default of legitimate issue. She subsequently, however, gave birth to a real son, who reigned after his father's death as Ariarathes V. After the birth of this son, the young Orophernes was sent away to be bred up in Ionia, in order that he might not set up pretensions to the throne.³ Ariarathes V. succeeded his father, B.C. 162, and having offended Demetrius Soter, by refusing to marry his sister, was driven from his kingdom by that prince, who placed Orophernes on the throne of Cappadocia, B.C. 158. After his expulsion, Ariarathes took refuge with the Romans, and was restored by them to his kingdom with the assistance of Attalus II. B.C. 157.⁴

According to Appian,⁵ the Romans appointed Ariarathes and Orophernes as joint kings of Cappadocia. This joint sovereignty, however, did not last long, as Polybius, about B.C. 154, describes Ariarathes as sole king.⁶

On his accession, Orophernes had deposited 400 talents with the people of Priene as a resource in time of need, which sum was claimed from them by Ariarathes, after being reinstated in his kingdom. The Prienians having refused to give up this deposit, were in consequence involved in a war with Ariarathes and his ally, Attalus,

³ Diodor. xxxi. (Eclog. iii., p. 517), ed. Bipont. x. p. 24.

⁴ Diodor. xxxi. (Excerpt. de Virt., p. 588); ed. Bipont. x. p. 41; Athen. x., p. 440; Polyb. xxxii. 23; Zonaras, Annal. ix. 24, p. 460, d.

⁵ Appian Syr. 47; Zonaras, loc. cit.

⁶ Polyb. iii. 5; Livy, Epit. xlvii.; Clinton, Fast. Hell. iii., p. 434.

from which they suffered greatly ; and they ultimately had to give back the treasure to Orophernes, without any compensation for the loss incurred in its custody.⁷

It was probably after his dethronement that Orophernes conspired with the people of Antioch against his benefactor, Demetrius, and tried to expel him from his kingdom. His conspiracy having been detected, he was thrown into prison ; but his life was spared, because it suited the policy of Demetrius to maintain his pretensions to the throne of Cappadocia as a standing menace against Ariarathes.⁸

It is evident from the foregoing narrative, that the tetradrachms here published must have been struck by Orophernes on assuming the title of king, B.C. 158, and before any such association of Ariarathes in the sovereignty, as seems to have taken place after B.C. 157. The first act of Ariarathes on being reinstated as sole sovereign would naturally have been the suppression of the coinage of Orophernes. Hence we may explain the fact that up to the present time no coins of this usurper have been known to numismatists.

The discovery of these coins in the principal temple of Priene tallies in a most remarkable manner with the fact of the deposit of 400 talents in the same city. As the three coins picked up by Mr. Clarke were found actually under the foundation course of the pedestal, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that they, as well as the gold ornaments described by Mr. Clarke, were deposited under the foundations of the pedestal when the statue was set up. It seems probable, therefore, that the dedicatory was no other than Orophernes himself. It appears

⁷ Polyb. xxxiii. 12.

⁸ Justin. xxxv. 1.

from the passage in Pausanias, already referred to, that there was in this temple a celebrated colossal statue of Athene Polias, and in the course of Mr. Pullan's excavation two marble feet were found, belonging to a statue about 12 feet high, and part of a marble hand belonging to a still more colossal figure, the height of which has been estimated at 24 feet—dimensions which seem to suit the scale of the pedestal, though on this question I would refrain from pronouncing a positive opinion till the results of Mr. Pullan's researches have been published. As the citizens of Priene suffered such heavy loss in the cause of Orophernes, he may have dedicated the statue in gratitude for their fidelity in refusing to give up the deposit committed to their charge.⁹ Whether the coins and other objects found with them were deposited under the pedestal in commemoration of the dedicator or as part of a deposit of treasure is a question into which I will not enter at present. As unfortunately the pedestal had been nearly all removed before Mr. Clarke's arrival, it is impossible now to ascertain whether any other coins were found concealed between the upper courses. It would appear from Mr. Clarke's statement that those which he saw under the stones of the lowest course were lying in small hollows prepared for them in the bed of the stones. I would here remark that among the inscriptions from the temple at Priene recently pre-

⁹ Meier (Pergamenisches Reich) (extract from the Allgemeine Encyklop. d. Wissensch. u. Künste, p. 59), remarks "ob sie (the Prienians) dadurch zu einem Ersatz, für den ihnen angethanen Schaden gekommen sind, wird uns ebenso wenig berichtet, als ob und welche Belohnung ihnen Orophernes für ihre seltene Ehrlichkeit ertheilt habe." It seems implied, by the language of Polybius, that the Prienians got no material compensation for their losses in defending the money entrusted to them.

sented to the British Museum by the Dilettanti Society is one in which the name of Ariarathes occurs, and which may be part of a letter from some king to the people of Priene; and on my recent visit to Priene (January, 1871) I succeeded, with the aid of Mr. A. S. Murray, in deciphering on a nearly illegible marble the words, ΟΡΟΦΕΡΝΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΙΕΡΩΙ ΤΗΣ Α, and two lines below the words, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΑ... This inscription evidently had reference to the events narrated above. It should be noted that, both on the coins and in this inscription, the name is written Orophernes, not Olophernes, which latter is the reading preferred in the printed texts of the authors cited in this memoir.

Mr. Clarke, with great liberality, has presented the two finest of his four coins to the British Museum and the Dilettanti Society respectively.

The weight of the six tetradrachms is as follows:—

1. Still in Mr. Clarke's possession	257·9	grs.
2. Purchased by me at Priene, and since lost	256	„
3. Mr. Forbes's coin	255	„
4. Presented to Dilettanti Society	254·7	„
5. In British Museum	253	„
6. Acquired by General Fox	249	„

The diminished weight of No. 6 is due to its corroded state.

All these coins are well preserved, and very fine examples of the art of the period. The Victory on the reverse has a manifest reference to the epithet, ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, assumed by Orophernes in the legend. A pair of bronze wings, which have been gilt, and which probably belonged to a small statue of Victory, were found in the ruins of the temple. So far as I know, neither the type of Victory nor the epithet, ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ,

occur on the coins of any of the other kings of Cappadocia, with whom the usual type on the reverse is Pallas Nikephoros. The head of the king is finely modelled, and the portrait one full of character. In general treatment these regal coins remind us of the contemporary autonomous tetradrachms of Ionia and Æolis, and their weight is adjusted to the same later Attic standard, as the silver money of many cities and kings in Asia Minor of the same period. (See "Brandis, *Das Münz, Mass-und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien*," p. 272.) On the other hand, they do not resemble the coins of other Cappadocian kings, which are usually drachms of a different fabric and of a coarser character of art. As Orophernes was bred up in Ionia, and adopted the Ionian manners and way of life, he probably imitated their style of coinage—possibly these tetradrachms were struck for him in the mint of Priene. In that case the owl on the altar on the reverse may be the mint-mark of Priene. It appears from Mr. Clarke's letter, that the objects found with the coins were two olive leaves in beaten gold, probably part of a wreath dedicated to Athene Polias as the goddess to whom the olive-tree is sacred.¹⁰ Also a portion of a ring containing a garnet, some small fragments of gold, and a terra-cotta seal, the device on which seems to be a figure, possibly that of Herakles.

"Marshall's Hotel, Cavendish Square, W.
9th December, 1870.

"MY DEAR SIR, .

"I have received your note of 7th inst., and willingly supply you with the particulars of how I found the

¹⁰ In the list of treasure stored up in the Parthenon (Bocckh, C. I., 153), we find detached leaves from gold wreaths—*πέραλα*—entered as a separate item. These were probably from wreaths that had been broken up.

Orophernes coins, olive leaves, ring, and terra-cotta seal. They are as under.

“My wife, niece, and self paid a visit of inspection to Priene, just one year since we dined there with Messrs. Newton and Pullan. These gentlemen there kindly gave me all particulars about the temple, and showed me the pedestal where the statue of Minerva was supposed to have stood. This consisted of a large base, composed of many large stones of about six hundredweight each. It was then in proper order. On the occasion of my last visit (in April, 1870), I found all these stones disturbed from their places, excepting four in the centre of the pedestal. This destruction was apparent to me immediately on my entry to the Cella; and while standing in the midst of these turned-up stones, lamenting the mischief done, by chance I found at my feet a coin covered with dirt. I washed it, and found it to be silver, and read the name Orophernes.

“I then went in search of my wife and niece, who were in the treasury, to inform them of my good luck, and again returned to the base of Minerva’s pedestal, when the idea struck me that something more might be found under the four intact stones already referred to, so I employed two Greek masons who were working amongst the ruins, trimming stones for graveyards. With the aid of three crowbars, we moved the first stone, and found under it a silver coin similar to the one previously picked up; under the second stone we found another coin similar to the previous two. I then called my wife and niece to assist me in my discovery. On their coming up, we removed the third stone, and found a part of a ring—say a garnet set in gold, and some crumbs of gold; under the fourth stone we found a gold olive leaf, a terra-cotta seal, and

some crumbs of gold. We searched amongst the rubbish for more, but without success, so went to lunch in the treasury.

“ During lunch the two Greek masons, with two or three other Greeks from Kelebesh (who came to Priene, hearing I was there, to pay me a visit), as well as Yuruks from the hillside, who, seeing Franks excited at having found something, came down to the spot to join in the *kismet*. All commenced scratching in the most perfect harmony, wondering at my good *kismet* at having found so much in so short a time, and their bad *kismet* at not being able to find anything. This was on a Saturday, so on Sunday the inhabitants of Kitibesh, having heard of the *well-read* Frank’s discovery, turned out, bound to Priene, in search of treasure, two Jews accompanying them with a fair supply of money to purchase any bargain that might turn up. A grand turning over of stones took place by this mob of men, women, and children, but nothing was found. However, on the Monday afterwards, the Greek masons found amongst the earth of Minerva’s pedestal a gold olive-leaf, and two coins similar to those found by me. I purchased the broken coin (now in your possession), and the olive-leaf of the masons. The other coin was sold to Mr. John Forbes, making in all five coins. I presented one to the British Museum, one to the Dilettanti Society, gave one to my wife, and one to my niece. My wife has the olive-leaves and seal, and my niece the ring.

“ I remain, dear sir,

“ Yours very truly,

“ A. O. CLARKE.

“To GENERAL FOX.”

III.

EARTHEN COIN MOULDS, FOUND AT DUSTON, NEAR NORTHAMPTON.

ON the 18th of March, 1869, a short paper by me was read before the Numismatic Society, and published in the *Chronicle* for that year; in which paper were described sundry Roman coins (denarii and quinarii, first, second, and third brass, and folles), ranging from Claudius Cæsar to Honorius, found from time to time in "baring" land for the digging of ironstone, upon the estate then of Lady Palmerston, now of the Earl Cowper, K.G., at Duston, near Northampton. In March of last year, I read before the Society of Antiquaries a more lengthy and detailed account of other Roman and post-Roman antiquities discovered at the same place; which account, with an engraved illustration, has been published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xl..

The only coins worthy of notice which have since come into my hands are—

Commodus. 1st. brass. *Rev.* Rome seated on arms.

Victorinus. 3rd. brass. *Rev.* "Salus Aug."

Theodora, second wife of Constantius Chlorus. Small 3rd. brass. *Rev.* "Pietas Romana." A female figure, standing, holding a child. In the exergue "TRP."



1



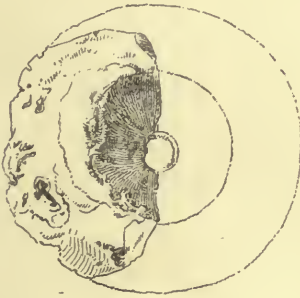
2



3



4



5



6



7



8

The paucity in the yield of coins, however, has been more than compensated by the discovery of the objects of numismatic interest briefly to be described in this paper, and which I now have the pleasure of exhibiting to the Numismatic Society.

The place whence these antiquities have been obtained, and in which antiquities continue to be discovered, is upon the site of a Roman cemetery. An area of more than sixteen acres has been excavated in the process of obtaining the iron ore; and throughout at least nine acres of this space, the natural surface soil, by ancient artificial disturbance, has been more or less mixed up with the upper and soft bed of the ferruginous rock beneath. This mixed material varies in depth from four to six feet, and (as does the mere soil where no such disturbance has taken place) constitutes the "baring," so called by the quarrymen, which has to be dug out and barrowed away before the ironstone fit for smelting purposes can be obtained.

This "baring," within the area of the ancient cemetery, abounds with Roman antiquities; and evidence has been disclosed of many burials (perhaps to be numbered by hundreds) of bodies disposed of by both modes—by burning, and by burying entire.

Among the more curious of the remains thus discovered, were a series of wells (already exceeding twenty in number) sunk through the ironstone rock down to the surface of the upper lias clay—to a depth, that is, of from thirty to thirty-five feet. These wells have a very small diameter, and having been roughly and thickly walled on the inside, were rendered too narrow to allow of a man's descending to clear or to cleanse them. Thus, when a well became choked or foul, it was the practice to dig another

well near, and the former well was converted into a receptacle for all kinds of refuse—bones of the horse, ox, pig, and dog, fragments of earthen vessels, and other waste matters, having been found therein.

In one of the wells, opened and cleared away by the quarrymen last November, were discovered, in one group, at about ten feet from the bottom, these earthen coin moulds and the associated objects.

The first intimation that I received of the circumstance was that “about a pint of coin moulds” had been found; and this turned out to be no great exaggeration. With a few exceptions, however, the moulds are in fragments; but I have been able to ascertain pretty accurately, I think, the emperors whose “image and superscription” they bear, the types of the reverses, and the size of the coins in the manufacture of which they had been used.

The emperors are:—Diocletianus, Maximianus Hercules, Constantius Chlorus, and Galerius Maximianus.

The reverses are of only two and very common types—“GENIO POPVLI ROMANI,” the genius standing, with the modius on his head, a patera in his right hand, and a cornucopiæ on his left arm; and “MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN,” Moneta standing, holding scales in her right hand and a cornucopiæ on her left arm.¹

The kind of coin of which these were moulds is the *folles*.

The exergual letters indicate one mint only, that of Trèves.

I need not tell Numismatists that earthen moulds for the casting of Roman money have been well known for many years. Mr. Akerman, in Plate 14 of his “Descriptive Catalogue of Roman Coins,” has figured ten

¹ See Plate I., figs. 2 and 3.

of such moulds, and in his "Coins of the Romans relating to Britain," he has devoted 34 pages (69 to 103) to their consideration.

Gathering my information from Mr. Akerman's volumes, it appears that many finds of such moulds have occurred both in this country and in France. As early as 1697 coin moulds were discovered at Lingwell Gate, near Wakefield, and again at the same place in the years 1706, 1820, and 1830. Papers upon these finds, by the late Rev. J. B. Reade, F.R.S., are in the *Numismatic Journal*, vol. ii., and in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. i. In the latter paper is an interesting account how that, by the microscopic detection of fossil *infusoria* of the genus *Navicula*, both in the material of the moulds and in the sand of the field in which they had been found, he had succeeded in demonstrating the fact that the moulds had been fabricated upon that very spot, and of the material there obtained.

In Gough's "Camden's Britannia," it is stated that in the beginning of the last century coin moulds were found at Edington, in Somersetshire; and again in the beginning of the present century, at the same place, to the number of "several hundreds."

In the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 349, is an account of coin moulds, discovered between Leeds and Wakefield, at Thorpe-on-the-Hill. Moulds have also been found at Castor, in Northamptonshire,—the *Durobrivæ* of Antoninus,—and are described and figured by Mr. Artis in his well-known work upon the Roman antiquities there discovered; and in small quantities at Ryton, Salop, described in the "Philosophical Transactions," vol. xlv. p. 557.

All these moulds were for coins of the denarius size,

and respectively of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta, Macrinus, Alexander Severus, Maximinus, Maximus, Plautilla, Julia Paula, and Julia Mamæa.

I have had in my possession for nearly thirty years a mould of the same size, bearing a usual head and legend of Caracalla, one of a group found near Lincoln.

Lastly, Mr. Akerman states that there are in the British Museum several moulds bearing impressions from coins of very common types of the Constantine family, but of which the place of discovery is unknown.

Of coin moulds discovered in great numbers in France, those turned up from time to time at Lyons appear to have been the most numerous, but represent coins only of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, and Caracalla; while others found at Fourvières, near Lyons, were of coins of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta, Julia Soemias, Julia Mæsa, and Alexander Severus.

The most interesting French find was that of 1830, at Damery, in the Department of the Marne, a town built on the ruins of Bibé, an ancient military station. Here were discovered several vases full of coins; one contained at least 2,000 of base silver, more than 1,500 of which were of Postumus, and the remainder of the series from Philip the Elder down to that emperor. Another vase contained a silver coin of "Antoninus" (Caracalla?), five of the small brass of Trèves with the types of "VRBS ROMA" and "CONSTANTINOPOLIS," 100 small brass of various mints of Constans and Constantius, and about 3,900 small brass "of the fourth size," all in perfect preservation, and all also of Constans and Constantius, chiefly with the exergual letters of the Trèves, but some with those of the Lyons mint.

Associated with these coins were found "iron instru-

ments suitable for the making of money ;” but with them also were several groups “of moulds of baked earth, still containing the pieces which had been cast in them.” Some of these bore the head of Caracalla, some that of the elder Philip ; but the majority that of Postumus.

The perfect moulds represented only about one-tenth of the moulds found in dispersed fragments, and it has been suggested that in these had been cast the 2,000 base silver money of Postumus and the other emperors.

M. Hiver, whose able dissertation upon the find at Damery is given at length by Mr. Akerman, concludes with all reason that here was a manufactory of money, in which, during the joint reign of Constans and Constantius, not only were the quantities of small brass coins of those emperors there found legitimately produced in the usual way, but that there also was cast, by imperial authority and for imperial use, the spurious money of former reigns discovered at the same spot.

It has been suggested that the use of earthen coin moulds first originated with forgers, although ultimately they came to be used by the official moneyers themselves for the reproduction in base metal of earlier money. Thus Mr. Reade, in his second paper, considered it as almost certain that the coin moulds found at Lingwell Gate were the work of forgers, whilst those found at Bibé were used by the *Triumviri Monetales*, “for the purpose of filling the exhausted coffers of the State with the debased coinage of the earlier Cæsars.”

The several papers cited by Mr. Akerman give minute descriptions of the supposed processes of manufacturing the moulds and of casting the coins. Between circular tablets of fine soft clay were placed coins, which, upon pressure being applied, produced upon the tablet above

and below each coin an impression of its obverse and reverse respectively, the combined impressions equalling in depth the thickness of the coin itself. It is evident from the moulds themselves that the tablets, while undergoing this process, were enclosed within a collar or tube. A notch was cut through the rim of each mould to the edge of the impression,² and they were then hardened by fire. The tablets thus prepared were arranged in triple piles, with the notches exactly over each other, and turned towards the centre, thus forming a downward channel with lateral openings, through which the fused metal might flow into the moulds. They were then enclosed in an outer covering of clay, shaped at the top into a funnel-like mouth, communicating with the downward channel, and the whole was again baked.

After the casting, the outer shell was broken up, and the coins extracted ; such of the moulds as were unbroken being available for further use.

Mr. Akerman's engraving shows the moulds arranged in a triple pile. A double pile, found at Lingwell Gate, is also figured, as are a crucible found at the same place, and a piece of metal, which is a perfect casting of the funnel-like mouth and downward channel.

It is worthy of note that with the moulds at Duston were found fragments of an earthen vessel, which, from the partial vitreous glazing of the outer surface by exposure to great heat, from the indications on the inner surface of its having contained fused metal, and from films of metal having been found with the pieces, I think we may fairly conclude was a crucible: a cone-shaped piece of metal, a casting apparently of the funnel mouth,³ and a piece of baked clay, which from its shape and

² See Plate I., fig. 1, *a*.

³ See Plate I., fig. 6.

colouring is probably a fragment of the mouth itself,⁴ were also included in the find.

The surface of the moulds, by contact with the fused metal, was blackened or stained of a dull lead colour. A mould which, having been impressed only on one face, was evidently at the top or bottom of a pile, exhibits no such discolouration. It bears a large-sized head of Constantius Chlorus, is beautifully sharp and perfect, and must have been impressed from an unworn coin.⁵ The newness of the coins from which the moulds have been formed is observable throughout. I find also that many moulds have been impressed from the same coin, or from coins struck from the same dies.

It does not appear that the casting was always perfect. One mould exhibits partial discolouration, a glazed edging to the stained portion having been produced by the vapour of the heated metal. Two small pieces of metal, of irregular flattened form, of the thickness of a coin, and bearing part of the designs of obverse and reverse, are evidence of the partial cooling of the fused metal, so as to render it incapable of flowing freely into the moulds.⁶

In the following lists I have given the results of a careful examination of the moulds and fragments. It is a curious fact that, although I have endeavoured to fit together fragments, even in the cases of top and bottom moulds and of types of which few fragments occur, and in which consequently corresponding fragments might easily be found, I have only succeeded in matching two small pieces, and these probably were parts of one fragment broken since discovery. It is evident that these fragments constitute a part only of the whole number of moulds; and

⁴ See Plate I., fig. 5.

⁵ See Plate I., fig. 1.

⁶ See Plate I., figs. 7 and 8.

it would appear as if they had been designedly divided, one portion having been hidden away in the well in which they were found (which well had already been converted into a rubbish hole), whilst the remainder were otherwise bestowed.

I think, therefore, that generally each fragment represents a whole mould, and I have attached the numbers to the various types of obverses and reverses, in accordance with that impression. It is not improbable, however, that these numbers are somewhat in excess, as it is likely that in some instances two or more fragments are portions of the same mould, although I have not succeeded in bringing them together.

Obverses upon Whole Moulds and Fragments.

Diocletianus :—

IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG 10

Maximianus Hercules :—

MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES⁷ 34

IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG 54

Constantius Chlorus :—

CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES⁸ 40

Galerius Maximianus :—

GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS P AVG 14

GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS N C 6

MAXIMIANVS NOBIL C 8

Undeterminable 31

Total number of obverses — 197

Reverses upon Whole Moulds and Fragments.

GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. The genius standing, with the modius on his head, a patera in his right hand, and a cornucopiæ on his left arm.⁹

⁷ See Plate I., fig. 3.

⁸ See Plate I., fig. 1.

⁹ See Plate I., fig. 2.

1.	No letters or object in the field, no exergual letters	7
2.	* in the field, exergue broken away	9
3.	„ PT in the exergue	14
4.	„ PT● „	5
5.	„ PTR „	2
6.	„ TR „	1
7.	„ ST „	15
8.	„ ST● „	15
9.	„ *T „	1
10.	S F in the field, TR in the exergue	4
11.	„ ITR „	2
12.	„ IITR „	11
13.	„ exergue broken away	6
14.	Fragments showing neither field nor exergue . .	79

MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN. Moneta standing, holding scales in her right hand, and a cornucopiæ on her left arm.¹⁰

1.	S F in the field, ITR in the exergue	8
2.	„ the exergue broken away	3
3.	Fragments showing neither field nor exergue . .	4

Total of the GENIO type . . . 171

Total of the MONETA type . . 15

The following is a descriptive list of the few more perfect moulds and fragments. It must be remembered, although I have described the obverse and reverse presented on each tablet, that these are necessarily *not* those of one coin: the upper side of each tablet would correspond with the under side of the coin above it, and the under side of each tablet with the upper side of the coin below it.

Moulds and Fragments more perfect than the bulk of those found.

DIOCLETIANUS.

1. *Obv.*—IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG. *Rev.*—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. The genius standing as before described; * in the field, PTR in the exergue.

¹⁰ See Plate I., fig. 4.

2. *Obv.*—Same as last; apparently impressed from the same coin. *Rev.*—GENIO, &c., as last; * in the field, ST● in the exergue.

MAXIMIANUS HERCULES.

3. *Obv.*—IMP C MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Rather small head. *Rev.*—GENIO, &c.; S F in the field, IITR in exergue.
4. *Obv.*—Same legend; rather larger head. *Rev.*—GENIO, &c.; * in the field, TR in the exergue.
5. *Obv.*—Same as last. *Rev.*—MONETA S AVGG ET CAESS NN. Moneta standing as before described; S F in the field, ITR in the exergue.
6. *Obv.*—MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES. Same head as last.¹¹
Rev.—Same as No. 2.
7. *Obv.*—The same. *Rev.* as No. 1, the exergue broken away.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS.

8. *Obv.*—CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES. Rather large head. No reverse. Bottom mould of pile. Quite perfect and unstained.¹²
9. *Obv.*—Same legend and head. *Rev.*—MONETA, as No. 5.
10. *Obv.*—The same. *Rev.*—The same.
[The last three obverses have apparently been impressed from the same coin.]
11. *Obv.*—Same as the last. *Rev.*—GENIO, &c., as No. 2.
12. *Obv.*—Same legend; rather smaller head. *Rev.*—GENIO, &c.; S F in field, TR in exergue.
13. *Obv.*—Same legend and head. *Rev.*—GENIO, &c.; * in the field, PT● in the exergue.

GALERIUS MAXIMIANUS.

14. *Obv.*—MAXIMIANVS NOBIL C. Rather small head.
Rev.—GENIO, &c.; * in the field, ST in exergue.

¹¹ See Plate I., fig. 3.

¹² See Plate I., fig. 1.

15. *Obv.*—Same legend and head. *Rev.*—MONETA, &c., as No. 5.

16. *Obv.* and *Rev.* same as last.

Bottom Mould.

17. *Rev.* only.—GENIO, &c.; nothing in the field, no exergual inscription.¹³

Moulds and Fragments of Moulds having an Impression on One Side only, and therefore the Top or Bottom Moulds of the Piles.

Obverses.—Diocletianus, 2; Maximianus Hercules, 12; Constantius Chlorus, 3; Galerius Maximianus, 1; Undeterminable, 3; total, 21.

Reverses.—GENIO, &c. only, 12.

Total of obverses and reverses, 33.

Upon the under or plain face of several of these moulds the impression of the grain or roughly-planed surface of wood is perceptible.

It is a significant fact with regard to these coin moulds, that they were intended for casting the money of emperors, and a kind of money—the *folles*, for the production of which, as far as I can ascertain, moulds have not previously been found.

The question arises as to who were the persons who made and used these moulds, and what was the character of the money which they produced? I do not think that we can entertain the supposition that they were the work of official fabricators of *spurious* money, as is supposed to have been the case with regard to the moulds found at Damery, in France, already referred to. There the moulds were for casting *denarii* of reigns long passed, and in a very debased metal. The Duston moulds, on the contrary,

¹³ See Plate I., fig. 2.

were impressed from current coins probably of living emperors, and the coins were cast in a metal of the same intrinsic value as that of the money in circulation. Moreover, the coins from which the moulds were taken were new and sharp, and those reproduced would therefore have all the appearance of newness, a peculiarity which makers of spurious money would surely endeavour to avoid. For the same reasons, I should be indisposed to consider that these moulds were used by private forgers, notwithstanding they were employed for manufacturing at Duston money of the distant foreign mint of Trèves, and were apparently broken up and hidden away as described. I should rather conclude that at that place money was produced under the authority of the imperial government, by the use of the readiest means at hand, for the remedying of a deficiency in the circulation which might temporarily have occurred in that locality and at that time; and I think that all the circumstances disclosed with regard to these moulds tend to such a conclusion.

Cast coins have occasionally been found in this country, commonly associated with coins struck from dies. They are often of various sizes, of a succession of reigns spreading over a wide space of time, and are generally considered to be ancient forgeries. In vol. x. N.S. p. 195 of the *Numismatic Chronicle* is an interesting account by John Evans, Esq., F.R.S., &c., of a hoard of Roman coins found in the spring of 1870 on Pitstone Common, near Tring, curiously enough, within a few hundred yards of a spot bearing the significant name of *Moneybury* Hill. These coins were 116 in number, ranging from Claudius to Tetricus inclusive, and consisting of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd brass. Of these, 28 (all of the 2nd brass size) had been

cast, "all probably about the same time," although the moulds ranged "from Vespasian to Otacilia Severa, or over a period of 180 years." Some of them had been moulded from well-preserved, and others from much-worn coins. Mr. Evans pronounces these coins to be ancient forgeries, and, I think, truly. The coins cast in the Duston moulds may possibly have been also ancient forgeries, but the characteristics of the Pitstone find of cast coins (the number of reigns and their range in time, the varying condition of the original models, and the association with a mixed group of genuine coins) are so different from those which pertain to the Duston moulds, that the line of reasoning which would apply to the former would not, I think, bear upon the latter.

Lastly, as to the date of their manufacture. I have already suggested that the sharpness of the impressions indicated that the coins from which they were taken were of contemporaneous reigns. Of the four emperors whose money was thus fabricated, who were living at the same time, and associated together in the empire, Galerius Maximianus was the junior. He was made Cæsar A.D. 292, and Augustus A.D. 305: Constantius died A.D. 306. These dates mark the limits of the joint reign of the four emperors; and it is likely, therefore, that the moulds were made between A.D. 292 and A.D. 306, probably towards the close of that period, or perhaps a little later.

SAMUEL SHARP.

IV.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE WEIGHT OF ENGLISH AND NORTHERN COINS IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES,

AND AN ATTEMPT AT COMPARISON BETWEEN THESE WEIGHTS AND
THE WEIGHT SYSTEM FOR COINS WHICH APPARENTLY
BELONG TO THE SAME PERIOD.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DANISH, BY JOHN EVANS, F.R.S.

PRELIMINARY AND NECESSARY PARTICULARS OF WEIGHTS.

One ounce, Cologne-weight = 451.38 Troy grains¹ = 29.231 French
grammes = 512 Norse æs.

One mark, Cologne-weight = 3611.04 Troy grains = 233.85489² French
grammes = 4096 Norse æs.

From these data the following results are obtained:—

	Troy grains.	Tower grains.	French grammes.	Æs.
1 Troy grain		=	0.064761091	= 1.13429926
1 Norse æs.	= 0.8816016525	=	0.0570934790	
1 lb. Troy weight	= 5760	=	373.02388408871	= 6533.56373787
1 ounce	= 480	=	31.085323674	= 544.46364482
1 dwt.	= 24	=	1.554264	= 27.2231842
1 French gramme	= 15.44137	=		= 17.515135133586
1 oz. Tower weight	= 450 =	480 =	29.14249	= 510.434667
1 lb. Tower weight	= 5400 =	5760 =	349.70989	= 6125.21600425
1 mark	= 3600 =	3840 =	233.13993	= 4063.477336
1 grain	= 0.9375	=	0.0607135	= 1.063405555
1 gramme	=	= 16.470795		
1 æs.	=	= 0.940375		
1 penny Tower weight =	22.5 =	24.0 =	1.4570245	= 25.52173335
1 ounce Cologne weight	=	481.472		

¹ Ruding, vol. I., p. 7. See also Luxdorph, vol. ix. of Procs. Copenhagen Soc., p. 618; or p. 6 of the separate copies.

² From information supplied by Professor Holmboe.

³ Hawkins, p. 59. He says that Alfred's later coins, weighing 24 grains, are of good silver; the earlier are, on the contrary, of inferior metal, and lighter in weight.

I.—WEIGHT OF ENGLISH COINS.

	Number of pieces.	Gross weight in Troy grains.	Average weight of each.	French grammes.	Nor- wegian Æs
Of <i>a</i> , Egbert (802—837) Rud- ing gives	8	159·10	19·837	1·288	22·558
<i>b</i> , Æthelwulf (837—858) „	7	138·6	19·80	1·282	22·459
<i>c</i> , Æthelbert (860—866) „	3	54·75	18·25	1·182	20·70
<i>d</i> , Æthelred I. (866—871) „	6	107·15	17·86	1·166	20·26
<i>e</i> , Alfred (871—901), later and earlier types	14	289·275	20·66	1·338	23·437
Ditto, later, and in good pre- servation, Hawkins	1		24·00	1·554	27·233
<i>f</i> , Edward the Elder (901— 925) Ruding	27	643·05	23·817	1·542	27·015
<i>g</i> , Æthelstan (925—941) Rud- ing	43	969·60	22·55	1·460	25·57
Ditto Hawkins	1		23·0	1·490	26·088
<i>h</i> , Edmund (941—946) „	1		24·0	1·554	27·233
<i>i</i> , Eadred (946—955) Ruding	25	527·60	21·104	1·367	23·938
<i>k</i> , Eadwig (955—959) „	8	169·10	21·137	1·369	23·976
<i>l</i> , Eadgar (959—975) Ruding gives 22, Hildebrand ⁴ 21	43	942·86	21·927	1·420	24·87
<i>m</i> , Æthelred II. (978—1016) Ruding gives 15, Hilde- brand 329, Holmboe 33, ⁵ Schive 56 ⁶	433	9517·048	21·979	1·723	24·93
<i>n</i> , Knut the Great (1016— 1035). In the Roy. Danish, Norwegian University, Stockholm and Bergen Museum Cabinets, all of the oldest types and standard	25	561·715	22·47	1·455	25·486
The same king, of the later standard, and of the types E. G. H. I. K. of Hildebrand, all in good preservation . .	174	2936·045	16·87	1·093	19·14
<i>o</i> , Harold Harefoot, Knut's son (1035—1040). In the Royal Swedish Coin Cab- inet	100	1659·93	16·6	1·075	18·83
<i>p</i> , Hardeknut (1040—1042). At Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Christiania	45	771·38	17·14	1·11	19·44
<i>q</i> , Edward the Confessor (1042—1066)	127	2126·4	16·74	1·08	18·99
Of the coins which may be considered to belong to the latter part of his reign . .	17	363·64	21·39	1·385	24·26

⁴ Hildebrand, Anglosachsiska Mynt i Svenska Kongl. Myntka-
binettet. Stockholm, 1846.

⁵ Holmboe, Mynter fra Middelalderen fundne ved Egersund.
Christiania, 1836.

⁶ Schive. Account of coins found in Haaland Parish in 1866.
Proc. Scientific Society of Christiania for 1869.

2.—WEIGHT OF DANISH COINS.

	Number of pieces.	Gross weight in Troy grains.	Average weight of each.	French grammes.	Nor- wegian Æs.
<p><i>a</i>, Sven Tjageskegg (986—1014), two coins, the one at Stockholm the other at St. Petersburg — both of type C. of Hildebrand, together weighing</p> <p>The weight nearly corresponds with Æthelred's type D. of Hildebrand, but two pieces are not alone sufficient to give any safe result.</p>	2	48·91	24·455	1·583	27·74
<p><i>b</i>, Knut the Great (1014—1035). Of the earlier coins of this king there are in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway</p> <p>These coins, like those of Æthelred II., are struck of the weight of the Tower penny.</p>	23	517·10	22·48	1·456	25·50
<p>The same king. Of his later standard</p> <p>These also seem struck in accordance with Knut's later English standard.</p>	7	119·46	17·067	1·05	19·36
<p><i>c</i>, Hardeknut (1035—1042). From Eastern Denmark . .</p>	56	871·13	15·555	1·007	17·645
<p>„ Western „ . .</p>	17	194·96	11·468	0·743	13·008
<p><i>d</i>, Magnus the Good (1042—1047). From Eastern Denmark</p>	138	2120·27	15·36	0·995	17·427
<p>From Western Denmark . .</p>	13	143·52	11·04	0·715	12·52
<p><i>e</i>, Sven Estrithssön (1047—1076). From Eastern Denmark</p>	50	756·05	15·12	0·979	17·15
<p>From Western Denmark . .</p> <p>This number is too small to give a probable result.</p>	5	60·36	12·07	0·782	13·69

The above-mentioned coins are all of silver, 14 to 15 lods fine, until the time of Magnus the Good, whose coins are 13 to 15 lods, and Sven Estrithssön's 12 to 14 lods fine. Hardeknut's, Magnus the Good's, and Sven Estrithssön's East Danish coins, on an average, approximate to the $\frac{1}{240}$ of the English Tower mark; the West Danish to the $\frac{1}{240}$ of the half Troy mark.

3.—WEIGHT OF SWEDISH COINS.

	Number of pieces.	Gross weight in Troy grains.	Average weight of each.	French grammes.	Nor- wegian Æs.
<p><i>a</i>, Olaf Scötkonung (995—1021). In the Museums in Sweden and Denmark are to be found</p> <p>This king has not, like other contemporary northern kings, borrowed Æthelred's penny of $\frac{1}{240}$ of the Tower pound; but his coins, on an average, nearly answer to the 96th part of the mark of Gotland, and are nearly twice as heavy as the later English coins of Knut, of Harold Harefoot, and Hardeknut.</p>	50	1648.77	32.97	2.135	37.40
<p><i>b</i>, Anund Jacob (1021—1050)</p> <p>Average about the same as the English coins of Harold Harefoot and Hardeknut. Until the middle of the twelfth century there is, after the death of Anund Jacob, no record of the weight of Swedish coins.</p>	9	148.11	16.45	1.065	18.66

4.—WEIGHT OF NORWEGIAN COINS.

	Number of pieces.	Gross weight in Troy grains.	Average weight of each.	French grammes.	Nor- wegian Æs.
<p><i>a</i>, Olaf Tryggvessön. At an earlier period (in 1770) a single coin of this king was known, the size and type of which corresponded with Æthelred II., type C. Hildebrand. It is now lost.</p>					
<i>b</i> , Erik Jarl (1000—1015) . .	1	..	21.57	1,397	24.47
<i>c</i> , Haakon Erikssön Jarl (1015)	6	199.33	33.22	2,151	37.68
The average weight of these coins corresponds most closely with that of the contemporary coins of Olaf Scötkonung.					

WEIGHT OF NORWEGIAN COINS—*continued*.

	Number of pieces.	Gross weight in Troy Grains.	Average weight of each.	French grammes.	Nor- wegian Æs.
<i>d</i> , Olaf the Holy (1015 — 1030). Of this king there are coins, in part doubtful	4	87·94	21·987	1·424	24·94
Besides these there is an undoubted coin on a square piece of metal weighing 47,016 grains Troy, probably struck as a piece of two pennies. The foregoing coins, in classes 3 and 4, are all 14 to 15 lods fine.					
<i>e</i> , Of Magnus the Good (1035 — 1047) there are no coins struck in Norway; but of him and his co-regent, Harold Haarderaade, two pieces struck in Denmark, apparently of the West Danish standard and 14 lods fine, weigh on an average . .	..	..	11·205	0·726	12·71
<i>f</i> , Of Harold Haarderaade as sole monarch (1047—1066) Coins of good silver. These are 14 lods fine.	8	104·514	13·065	0·846	14·82
Coins of base silver	52	13·488	701·358	0·873	15·30
These are from 10 to 5 lods fine, but mostly 8 lods.					

THE COINAGE-WEIGHT IN ENGLAND AND THE NORTH.

1. THE ENGLISH COINAGE-WEIGHT.

The profit to be gained by a royalty on coinage was sought to be retained for themselves by the princes of the Middle Ages. It arose, in part, on account of uncoined silver being much cheaper than coined; and in part because the coins, though at first this was not the case, were eventually of less weight than they should have been; so that a pound of pennies, which for a great length of time were in fact the only coins of the Middle Ages, soon became less than a pound in weight. Already,

from the middle of the tenth century, this may be traced in many countries;⁷ but the result of this was that those, who had no business to do so, encroached on the princes' right, and sought to share it with them, which they in their turn tried to prevent by severe and in part barbarous laws.⁸ In England, however, they kept much longer to the greater and lesser normal weights, which were much more faithfully adhered to than in other countries;⁹ but notwithstanding, the coins were, on the whole, a little less in weight than they should have been. This, however, could hardly have been observed at first in daily business, or in small payments; while, on the contrary, when the question concerned large sums, which were always weighed, it appears, judging from many Northern finds of coins, that the short weight was made good with uncoined silver, or with broken ornaments, rings, bars, &c.

It is altogether improbable that any prince struck coins

⁷ Baron von Koehne *Über die im Russischen Reiche gefundenen Abendländischen Münzen des x., xi., and xii., Jahrhundert's*, p. 6.

⁸ Suhm, *Danmarks Historie*, III., pp. 347—348. Æthelred II.'s Law for Englishmen and the Danes in England; and Æthelstan's ordinance concerning coins. Hildebrand's *Ang. Sax. Coins*, p. lxxxviii.

⁹ In England they went more honestly to work than elsewhere, and the coins kept their proper weight, except, perhaps, a period of about forty years under Knut the Great, Harold Harefoot, Hardeknut, and the greater part of the reign of Edward the Confessor. As an example, may be adduced the 5,127 pennies found at Tealby, in Lincolnshire, in 1807, which were probably deposited in the ground after the middle of the twelfth century, and weighed 19 lb. 6 oz. 5 dwts. Troy. This gives an average of 21·931 grs. Troy, = 1·420 French grammes, = 24·876 æs. And as the normal penny was 22·5 grs., = 1·457 grs. = 25·52 æs; the difference, which may in part be due to the coins having lain so long in the earth, is only 0·569 grs. = 0·037 grammes, = 0·644 æs.

heavier on an average than the normal weight, for by that means a part of the profit would have been lost, which the right of coinage gave to the prince, and which he sometimes handed over to others, in return for a fixed payment ; but the instruments which were used in coining were imperfect, and there was also some difference in the striking of each separate piece, some being either heavier or lighter than the standard, as is the case with the smaller sorts of coins even to the present day, and this may occasion erroneous results from the weighing of ancient coins.

This may also arise from the fact that, with the good uninjured pieces, there were others current which were clipped ; and this practice, according to Ruding,¹⁰ went to such lengths in the reign of the English king Eadwig (955—959), that the penny was scarcely equal to the half-penny in weight. The circumstance also that coins found in the earth have suffered by oxidization, may contribute to their weight being less than it should be.

As the division into 240 pennies to the *libra*, or pound, was the same among the Anglo-Saxons in the tenth century as among the Franks under Charlemagne,¹¹ it appears not unlikely that at that earlier period this same pound was accepted for the purposes of coinage. In the meantime it is generally believed that from the earliest period the weight used by the Anglo-Saxons for their coinage was the so-called Tower pound, which is found to have contained 5,400 Troy grains¹² (equal 349·70989 French

¹⁰ Ruding, vol. I., p. 130.

¹¹ Nordström, Bidrag till Penning-väsendets Historia i Sverige intill K. Gustav. 1^{stes} Tid. pag 244. Histoire de la Législation des anciens Germains, par Garabed Davoud Oghlou. Berlin, 1845, tome II., p. 288.

¹² Ruding, vol. I., p. 7.

grammes = 6125·21600425 Norwegian æs) ; but the later coins of King Alfred, as well as those of his successors, Edward the Elder, Æthelstan, and Edmund, contain more than the $\frac{1}{240}$ of the Tower pound, which is the normal weight for the Tower penny = 22·5 Troy grains (= 1,457 grammes = 25·52173335 æs). The coins of the English kings after Edmund weigh somewhat less than this penny. That use was made in England of a great pound as well as of the Tower pound is shown by a charter granted by Æthelred II. to the monastery at Ely, in which it is related that the abbot bought certain property of the king for nine pounds of gold after the Norman great weight (presumably the common Frankish weight), and also because, as already observed, it is improbable that the before-mentioned kings, from Alfred to Edmund (871—946), should have struck pennies above the normal weight ; so that it would appear, as far as these kings are concerned, that there was another and greater penny than that of the Tower. The diminution below this, which seems to have taken place under Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar (946—975), may be well ascribed to deficiency of money, to a desire for greater profit from the coinage, or most probably to the before-mentioned causes. It may, however, be accepted that the English standard, or normal weight, is, after the middle or towards the end of the tenth century, based on the Tower pound ; for this may, it appears, be deduced from Æthelred's laws on the relation between the Danish Öre and that pound. But inasmuch as certain of that king's coins are heavier than the $\frac{1}{240}$ of the Tower pound, it is in the highest degree probable that the coinage of the great sums which, under him, were paid to the Danes, may have taken place in such great haste, that they were never so accurate as to the weight or number of the

single pennies as to the weight in pounds of the whole great sum, which each time had to be prepared. It is also reasonable to suppose that the covetous Vikings chose the heaviest coins; where, as with small amounts, it was a question, not of weight, but of tale. All this is corroborated by the fact that a certain kind of Æthelred's coins (type D. of Hildebrand), which could not have been struck earlier than some years after A.D. 1000, are the heaviest; and it was doubtless principally of this sort that the 48,000 lbs.¹³ of gold, or 384,000 lbs. of silver, consisted, which had to be paid to Thorkell the Tall in 1010. The coins of type D. weigh, on an average, 25·30 Troy grains = 1·64 grammes = 28·7 æs; or 1·3 grain more than the 240th part of the French lb. (see below); while the coins which are of type E., and were probably struck between 1010 and 1014, only contain 21·158 grains = 1·37 grammes = 24·0 æs, or 1·34 grain under the Tower penny. In the later coinage under Æthelred, or from 1014 to 1016, the weight of the coin was still less, as was clearly shown by a northern find in 1866.

According to Ruding, the pennies of Edward the Elder, and, according to Hawkins, the later pennies of Alfred, Eadmund, and Æthelstan contain more than 22·5 grains, and even as much as 23·8 grains on an average. If these pennies were struck in relation to a normal weight, they would be about the 240th part of the present Troy pound = 5760 grains, which was received from France,¹⁴

¹³ P. A. Munch. *Det Norske Folks Historie*, 1-2, p. 471.

¹⁴ Von Koehne (p. 7) says that the French Carlovingian and the English pound were originally alike; but they, like other weights, have been reduced in the course of time, and become rather lighter than formerly; and this leads to the conclusion that the older weights may likewise be the heaviest.

and is still used in the English coinage. The same may have been the case under these kings, and Alfred may have been the first who adopted it as the normal weight for his later coinage. One two hundred and fortieth part of the French or Troy pound, or 1 dwt., contains 24 grains = 1,554 French grammes = $27\cdot22318224$ æs; and the later coins of Alfred—those of Edward the Elder and Edmund—are, on an average, 23·942 grains = 1·550 grammes = $27\cdot158$ æs. The somewhat less average weight of the coins of the kings after Eadmund's time was, if indeed these kings retained the French pound, probably not at first of great importance, so that the difference was not immediately observed, but might eventually lead to the establishment of a proportion¹⁵ to the previously used normal weight; so that the lighter Tower pound, which perhaps was older and earlier used in England than the French pound, was again adopted as the coining weight even before the time of Æthelred II.¹⁶

In Anglo-Saxon documents it is stated that the Danish mark was, in the tenth century, the same as 100 English pennies.¹⁷ If each of these equalled the 240th of the French pound, the mark would be = 2400 grains = $155\cdot426$ grammes = $2722\cdot3$ æs. And as this contained 8 öre, 1 öre would equal 300 grains = $19\cdot428$ grammes = $340\cdot3$ æs. But in Æthelred's "*Instituta Lundoniæ*,"¹⁸ it is said that

¹⁵ Nordström, p. 212.

¹⁶ It is not impossible that the reduction to the Tower pound first took place when the great contributions to the Norsemen began in the year 991.

¹⁷ Ruding, vol. I., p. 112.

¹⁸ Davoud Oghlou, ii., p. 291. This document is the safest guide to probable results. Nordström says, p. 248, by an error as it seems, that 1 öre = 15 pennies, but it cannot, after the Tower pound, which contained 15 öre and 240 pennies, have

a pound (libra) was 15 öre; and as in that king's time we may reckon by the Tower pound of 5400 grains, so an öre of a 15th part of this, or 16 English pennies, is equal to 360 grains = 23·314 grammes = 408·3477336 æs; and 8 öre = 1 Danish mark = 2880 grains = 186·512 grammes = 3266·7818688 æs, which does not answer to the first result for the mark. The discrepancy between 100 pennies in the mark = 2400 grains Troy, and its second value of 2880 grains, after the "*Instituta Lundoniæ*" and the Tower pound, corresponds, in the meantime, with the old Northern mode of reckoning, according to which the hundred was often represented by the great or long hundred of 120 pennies; for $120 \times 24^{19} = 2880$ grains = 186·512 grammes = 3266·7818688 æs, and $\frac{1}{8}$ of which, or 1 öre = 360 grains = 23·314 grammes = 408·3477336 æs as before. In like manner, $2880 \text{ grains} \times 2 = 5760$ grains = 373·02388 grammes = 6533·5637 æs—i.e., the Danish mark was in the first half of the tenth century the half of the English, which at that time was the same as the French pound.²⁰

been otherwise than 16 pennies. Ruding also, vol. I., p. 115 makes 15 pennies = 1 öre, according to Bircherod; this statement, however, does not refer to the period under consideration, but to the Danish coin system of the sixteenth century. See Holberg's *Danmarks og Norges geistlige og verdslige Stat*, p. 603 and A. Berntsen *Danmarks og Norges frugtbare Herlighed* 4, 1, 556.

¹⁹ That there is ground for receiving this mode of reckoning by the great or long hundred of 120 to the 100, is proved by many Northern documents of an early date, and is besides corroborated by the marriage contract between King Eric II., Magnussön (1280—1299), and Margaret of Scotland, in 1281 (P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, iv. 2, 25), where it is expressly said that the dowry shall be paid in sterling new and current coins, of which there shall be reckoned five score to the 100 mark. Had there not also been occasionally six score to the 100, such a stipulation would have been needless.

²⁰ Von Kœhne (p. 7) cites the mark weight as having been originally the half of the pound.

In the treaty between Edward the Elder and the Danish Guthrum, in the year 907, 3 half-marks and 30 shillings seem to be the same thing.²¹ If this interpretation be correct, it would appear from the following computation that the mark had the same value as has just been assigned to the Danish mark. In the Saxon provinces in England they reckoned 5 pennies to the shilling, so that there were 48 shillings to the pound. In Mercia there were 4 pennies to the shilling, or 60 shillings to the pound. In Kent, where pennies were not in use, there were $12\frac{1}{2}$ shillings, each of 250 sceattas, to the pound. In Northumberland, it appears they did not reckon by shillings, but by thrymsas, which were there current. At the same time, 80 thrymsas went to the pound, or 3 pennies to the thrymsa. That 3 half-marks = 12 öre, was the same as 30 shillings, is alleged by Davoud Oghlou from the treaty of peace between Edward and Guthrum (chapters 3 and 7), and he reckons what a half-mark amounted to in Saxon shillings. But those 30 shillings may, as it appears, have been Mercian, for the treaty took place with the Danes in East Anglia and Northumberland, which lay near Mercia, and was concluded in Mercia itself.²² This took place at a time when in England the French pound was employed as the coin weight, and if Mercian shillings of 4 pennies are also meant, then 30 shillings = $\frac{1}{2}$ pound = 2880 grains (= 186·512 grammes = 3266·7818688 æs), 1 shilling = 96 grains = 6·217 grammes = 108·892728964 æs), 1 mark = $\frac{1}{3}$ of a pound, or 2 half-marks = $\frac{2}{3} \times 2880$ grains Troy (= $\frac{2}{3} \times 186·512$

²¹ Davoud Oghlou, ii. p. 290, Suhm, Danmarks Historie, II. p. 477.

²² Suhm, vol. II., 475, 477. Yettingaford, which is also written Thitingaford, Ichyngaford, now perhaps Ickford in Buckinghamshire, which district lay in Mercia.

grammes = $\frac{2}{3} \times 3266.7818688 \text{ æs}$) = 1920 grains (= 124.34 grammes = 2177.854 æs), and 1 öre = $\frac{1}{8}$ mark = 240 grains (= 15.54 grammes = 272.2318 æs). But as Ruding observes, vol. II., p. 115, that the öre in weight was $\frac{1}{8}$ more than the öre in coin, the weight öre would be = 360 grains = 23.314 grammes = 408.3477 æs, and the treaty or convention was concluded in accordance with what was then reckoned for a mark among the Danes, but which was not a mark in weight. Besides the $\frac{1}{240}$ of the weight mark thus discovered ($\frac{8.8}{240}$), or 12 grains (= 0.777 grammes = 13.6 æs), agrees fairly well with the weight of the pennies struck in Western Denmark, principally under Hardeknut, but also at a later date, when it is likewise considered that the coins have lain many centuries in the earth. By taking the Saxon shilling at 5 pennies in the above account, the results cannot be made to agree.

At the time of the Norman invasion of England, and even earlier in the eleventh century, or under Æthelred, the Tower pound seems to have been the normal weight for coinage, for the pennies of the later years of the reign of Edward the Confessor approximate closely to the 240th part of the Tower pound, the latest weighing on an average 21.39 grains = 1.385 grammes = 24.26 æs, that is, something less than the weight of the Tower penny. At the time of the invasion, and also probably before, as well as shortly after, the öre was again 16 pennies in weight²³ = $16 \times 22.5 = 360$ grains = 23.314 grammes = 408.3477336 æs. In the same manner 20 öre = 2 marks silver English;²⁴ so that 10 öre = 1 mark = 3600 grains (= 233.14 grammes) = 4083.477336 æs = $\frac{2}{3}$ 5400 grains = $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Tower pound.

²³ Lixdorph, pp. 637, 638; Nordström, p. 248.

²⁴ Lixdorph, pp. 637, 638.

Consequently, there was already in use at that time the later so-called sterling mark after the Tower weight. In the same manner, in France, it was, between A.D. 1060 and 1108, ordained that $\frac{2}{3}$ of the *libra* weight,²⁵ or the *poids de marc*, should be applied for the weighing of the gold and silver. At that time, also, 15 öre were still reckoned to the pound in England,²⁶ which is right, for $15 \times 360 = 5400$ grains, or the Tower pound. But already in Domesday Book, or in the register of the royal domains under William the Conqueror, an öre is rated at 20 pennies.²⁷ This is also right, for while the Anglo-Saxon or Tower pound was retained under the new rule, the Norman method of dividing the same into 12 ounces of 20 pennies was adopted. In reckoning money, the pound was divided into 20 solidi of 12 denarii, the mark being then $\frac{2}{3}$ of a pound, that is, 8 ounces or öre = 160 pennies, or 13 solidi (shillings) and 4 pence = 3600 grains; and each öre = $20 \times 22.5 = 450$ grains = 21.142 grammes = 510.434667 æs.²⁸ From this it follows that at the commencement, after the Conquest, they reckoned in England by two sorts of öre—namely, by the lesser or older of 16 pennies, and by the newer and greater of 20 pennies, as is also observed in Sumner's Glossarium.²⁹

²⁵ Nordström, p. 255.

²⁶ Luxdorph, p. 637, 638.

²⁷ Nordström, p. 248. Ruding, vol. I. p. 112, also observes that the mark was divided into 160 pennies after the Conquest, but it is probable that it had already at an earlier period been used in England as two-thirds of the pound.

²⁸ Davoud Oghlou, vol. II. p. 291, agrees with this, as he observes that, according to the laws of Edward the Confessor (Cap. 12) and William the Conqueror's "Lois et Coutumes," three marks = to 40s. according to the Norman reckoning, for $3 \times \frac{2}{3} \times 360 = 270$ grains = $\frac{1}{20}$ of the Tower pound = 1 shilling and 1 öre or ounce = $2 \frac{1}{2} \times 360 = 450$ grains.

²⁹ Luxdorph, Ibid.

From what has been already stated, we arrive at the following results:—That the English weight for coinage may be accepted as having been at the beginning and later on in the tenth century the French pound. Still later on, towards its close, the Tower pound may have been adopted. Secondly, that the Danish mark-weight mentioned in English documents, or 8 Danish öre, contained about 2880 grains Troy, and that on its introduction from Denmark in the same century, or earlier, it was fixed at or taken for the half of the French pound then in use in England. Thirdly, that the öre weight had, in the tenth and a great part of the eleventh century, an invariable value in England, but was eventually, after the Norman Conquest, enhanced to the $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the Tower mark, or the 12th of the Tower pound. Davoud Oghlou (in his 2nd part, p. 290) makes the following observations as to öre and marks:—"In the English laws there are frequent questions about these denominations which belong to the Danish currency; but it is difficult accurately to determine their value. In the meantime, 8 öre made a mark." The results arrived at in the foregoing account, either experimentally or by calculation, seem to be reasonable, but they first acquire great certainty from the data of Æthelred's time, on the presumption that the Tower pound has not undergone any particular alteration. Davoud Oghlou remarks farther,³⁰ that it appears as if the Danish mark also had 12 öre. In the treaty between Edward and Guthrum it is stated, as already observed, that three half-marks, or 12 ore = 30 shillings. If now, as Ruding says, the öre of account was two-thirds

³⁰ Page 291. See also Rosenringe's *Grundrids*, 875; and Thorpe's edition of the *English Laws*—Note on King Ina's fourteenth law.

of the öre of weight, and the mark of account two-thirds of the weight mark, then 12 öre = 3 half-marks of the former, or 8 öre of the latter; and thus the reckoning of 12 öre to the mark would be perfectly right.

Knut the Great, Æthelred's successor in England, struck coins, both in that country and in Denmark, at a heavier standard in the earlier years of his reign, and at a lighter in his later years. His earlier English pennies, presumably struck between 1016—1020, are, so far as they have been weighed, found to be, on an average, 22·468 grains = 25·486 æs, and the Danish, 22·470 grains = 25·50 æs. Both sorts may therefore be taken as having been struck of the weight of the penny of the Tower pound, which was, as already shown, 22·5 grains = 25·5217335 æs. But probably soon after the last named of those years he departed from his earlier standard, for on comparing the average weights given by Hildebrand³¹ for Knut's own later English and Danish pennies with those of Harold Harefoot, the English coins of Hardeknut and the older coins of Edward the Confessor, we arrive on the whole at the conclusion that all these kings coined according to a standard which was three-quarters of the Tower pound = 4050 grains = 262·28 French grammes = 4593·912 æs; the 240th of this is 16·875 grains = 1·093 French grammes = 19·14 æs for the penny. True it is, that 924 pieces of Knut's pennies only weigh 15·566 grains = 1·008 grammes = 17·657 æs on an average, so that it may be presumed that the English mark, of which the 240th equals 15 grains = 0·97 grammes = 17·014 æs, was taken as the basis of the coinage; but as 750 of this number belong, with few exceptions, to the Egersund find of the year 1836, and have suffered much through lying in the earth, and as the remaining 174 pennies

³¹ Hildebrand, pp. 145, 149, 222, 223, 248, 249, 272, 276.

partly of the same types as those, and partly of Knut's latest types, but all good, had, on an average, a higher weight, which nearly answered to the average weight of the coins of Harold Harefoot, Hardeknut, and the oldest of Edward the Confessor, it seems safest to rely on the average of these 174 pieces as arrived at from Hildebrand's data.³² Knut's son and successor in England, Harold Harefoot, struck coins apparently of the same standard as his father's later coins; 100 are found to weigh on an average 16·6 grains = 1·075 grammes = 18·83 æs. The English coins of Harold's successor, Hardeknut, give on an average of 44 pieces, 17·14 grains = 1·11 grammes = 19·44 æs, while 127 of the earliest pennies of Edward the Confessor give 16·741 grains = 1·084 grammes = 18·99 æs. The average weight of his later coins was, as already observed, 21·39 grains = 1·385 grammes = 24·26 æs, or not far from the value of the Tower penny.

2. THE DANISH COINAGE-WEIGHT.

It has already been stated in an earlier page, that the two coins which are known of Sven Tjageskegg are struck like Æthelred's type C in Hildebrand, and that their average weight, 24·455 grains, about corresponds with that of Æthelred's type D. It has also been remarked that the Danish coins of the earlier years of the reign of Knut the Great are struck of the same weight as those of his English predecessors, so that an average of 23 pieces gives 22·48 grains = 1·456 grammes = 25·50 æs, or very nearly the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{5}$ of the Tower pound. These coins appear

³² Hildebrand, p. 149; the types E, G, H, I, K.

to have been struck before his return to England from Denmark in 1020. After that time, both in Denmark and England, a lighter standard was adopted, and it has been found that 7 pieces of his later coinage weigh on an average about the same as those struck in England, or 17·068 grains = 1·105 grammes = 19·36 æs.

Hardeknut's Danish coins weigh less than his father's, or only 15·555 grains = 1·007 grammes = 17·645 æs, on an average, which is arrived at from 56 pieces struck at Lund, in Scania. Seventeen other pieces, struck in Western Denmark, do not, on an average, weigh more than 11·468 grains = 0·743 grammes = 13·008 æs. Hence it would appear that the normal or mark weight corresponded with that which has already been pointed out for the Danish mark employed at an earlier period in England of 2880 grains, for the $\frac{1}{240}$ of this is 12 grains. The average of Hardeknut's heavier coins approaches, on the contrary, the $\frac{1}{240}$ of the Tower mark. There is nothing singular in another mark weight having been in use in Western from that in Eastern Denmark. Something of the same kind has taken place elsewhere in different other countries nearly down to our own times.

The average of the coins of Magnus the Good, so far as they were struck in Eastern Denmark, approaches that of the coins of Hardeknut, for they contain 15·36 grains = 0·995 grammes = 17·427 æs. Those which belong to Western Denmark are found to weigh 11·04 grains = 0·715 grammes = 12·52 æs.

The average weight of the pennies of Sven Estrithssön is 15·12 grains = 0·979 grammes = 17·15 æs—that is to say, those from Eastern Denmark. Those of the Western portion of the country contain 12·07 grains = 0·782 grammes = 13·69 æs.

It appears that under the two last-named kings the normal weight for the coinage was about the same as under Hardeknut; but the weight of the pennies, particularly those struck in Eastern Denmark, as well as their purity, began to diminish, and under the succeeding Danish kings this was carried to a still greater extent.

3. THE SWEDISH COINAGE WEIGHT.

Whilst the pennies of the Danish and Norwegian kings contemporary with Æthelred II., like his own, about correspond with the weight of the Tower penny, the coins of the Swedish Olaf Scötkonung differ from them, as they contain, on an average 32·97 grains = 2·135 grammes = 37·140 æs. They seem, therefore, struck on another standard, or such as would be about one-half heavier than the Tower pound, provided that in like manner 240 of these pennies were struck from the heavier pound. In Sweden, however, they reckoned already at an early date, not as in Norway and Denmark, 240, but only 192 pennies to the mark, and were this the Stockholm mark, and of the same weight as at a later period (in the fourteenth century)—3221·25 grains = 208·6 grammes = 3563·8666 æs—then its 192nd part would be 16·777 grains = 1·086 grammes = 19·03 æs. The double of this would be 33·554 grains = 2·172 grammes = 38·06 æs, or nearly the average weight of fifty pieces of Olaf Scötkonung's coinage; but as the weight of individual pieces varies between 22·8 grains = 1·480 grammes = 25·92 æs and 50·85 grains = 3·254 grammes = 56·99 æs, it is not impossible that their weight was judged of by the eye alone, and without any fixed standard. The coins of Olaf Scötkonung are also larger in diameter than those of Æthelred II. They are for the

most part struck like that king's type C, but others like his type D, in Hildebrand.

Olaf's son and successor, Anund Jacob, like Knut the Great in the later years of his reign, and following his example, issued pennies which only weigh about half those of Olaf. The pieces which are extant of Anund Jacob thus weigh only 16·45 grains = 1·065 grammes = 18·66 æs on an average, which is much the same as the weight of Knut's later coins and those of his immediate English successors. The types of Anund Jacob's coins are like Æthelred's types A and D.

At a later date in Sweden there appear to have been numerous kinds of weight. Thus there are mentioned: *pondus Suecanum*, *pondus regni nostri*, *pondus legale regis nostri*, *pondus Gotenense sive Gotlandiæ*, *pondus Stockholmense*, *pondus Lydosiense*, and *pondus de Scaris*.³³ The Gottland or Wisby mark held, according to Kruse, in his "*Necrolivonica*," 207·16 grammes = 3,198·8 Troy grains = 3,628·4 æs. The Skara mark contained 214·747 grammes = 3,316 grains = 3,761·33 æs.³⁴

4. THE NORWEGIAN COINAGE WEIGHT.

Of Olaf Tryggvessön, the first who struck coins in Norway, there existed in the last century in Sweden a penny, now lost, the size of which, to judge from drawings, was like that of the common coins of Æthelred, Hildebrand's type C. The weight may also be considered to have

³³ Nordström, p. 213, with Joh. de Serone and B. de Ortolis *Regnskaber over Indtægter til Pavestolen* in 1327 and 1328. According to these accounts, the Stockholm and Upsala weights were alike.

³⁴ Schive *Norges Mynter i Middelalderen*, with introduction by Holmboe, p. lxxiii. Lit. K.

been about the same as that of an English penny of that king; for Olaf had on his Viking expedition an excellent opportunity for such an imitation, and besides, his moneyer was an Englishman. Both the coins, which may with probability be assigned to Erik Haakonssön Jarl, and of which the one weighs 21·57 grains = 1·397 grammes = 24·47 æs, may likewise be considered to have been struck after Æthelred's standard, or at $\frac{1}{40}$ of the Tower pound. The pennies, on the contrary, which may be ascribed to Erik's son, Haakon Jarl the Younger, differ both in size and weight from the English, but closely resemble those of Olaf Scötkonung in both respects;³⁵ for an average of six pieces gives 33·22 grains = 2·151 grammes = 37·68 æs, and it may be considered that they were struck by a Swedish moneyer in Norway or in Sweden on Haakon's account.³⁶

The average of six pennies which may be assigned to Olaf the Holy is 21·987 grains = 1·424 grammes = 24·94 æs, or nearly $\frac{1}{40}$ of the Tower pound. It is true that the weight of the most certain of these pennies, the reverse of which is like Æthelred's type D, is only 19·07 grains = 12·35 grammes = 21·63 æs; but then such a deviation from the Tower penny occurs frequently in the coins of the English kings, and may be ascribed to the imperfection of the preparation of the blanks. The pennies of Olaf the Holy are like Æthelred's type D, as has already been remarked, and besides like A and E of Knut the Great. A few are in imitation of Æthelred's type G. From Olaf's death, in 1030, and until the reign in common

³⁵ They are also principally found in Sweden. See Norges Mynter, pp. 12 and 13.

³⁶ These coins—both Olaf Tryggvessön's and Erik Jarl's—are all of Æthelred's type C.

of his son, Magnus the Good, and the uncle of the latter, Harold Haarderaade, in 1046, there was no Norwegian coinage. The few pieces of the two together which have been discovered have been already cited, and their weight described. Their type is different from the English. As sole monarch from 1047, Harold Haarderaade at first struck good coins, like his predecessors; but this was soon changed, and his pennies coined of bad alloy, as has been already shown where their weight is stated. The average of the coins that are known, good and bad, 60 pieces, is found to be 13·431 grains = 0·869 grammes = 15·235 æs. Harold's pennies are, therefore, as a whole, heavier than the West Danish, and lighter than the East Danish and contemporary English coins, from which also they differ in type. Their weight corresponds nearest to $\frac{21}{10}$ part of what is discovered to be the value of the Norwegian weight-mark in the Middle Ages, and concerning which we have the following data:—

1. Two of the so-called payment rings (Betalings ringe) of gold found in Norway in the year 1860, and on each of which there are stamped at the one end three small circles, which in all probability betokened the value of 3 öre, which also agrees with other and foreign weights. Of these

	Grains.	Grammes.	Æs.
the one ring weighed =	1251·874 =	81·086 =	1420
so that the öre is =	417·274 =	27·022 =	473·333
and one mark ³⁷ =	3338·328 =	416·131 =	3786·6666
the other ring weighed =	1247·47 =	80·78 =	1·415
so that the öre is =	415·823 =	26·93 =	471·6666
And the mark =	3326·584 =	215·430 =	3773·3333
2. According to the Papal collector Huguitios' reckoning, delivered to the Court in 1286, a Norse mark ³⁸ =	3333·333 =	215·857 =	3780·9975

³⁷ Forhandler i Videnskabs Selskabet i Christiania, Aar, 1864, pp. 103—106. These rings are supposed to have been deposited in the earth in the last century of heathendom.

³⁸ Introduction to Norges Mynter i Middelalderen, p. 72.

	Grains.	Grammes.	Æs.
3. According to the account of the collectors, Johannes de Serone and Bernard de Ortolis, rendered to the Papal chair in 1327-28 the same mark ³⁹ =	3334·946	= 215·961	= 3782·8266
4. According to the Ny Danske Magasin, 6th vol., p. 329, an old Norse mark = $14\frac{3}{8}$ Cologne lod, or	3328·927	= 215·572	= 3776·0000
Together =	16662·118	= 1079·001	= 18899·8241
Average =	3332·424	= 215·80	= 3780 ⁴⁰
1 öre =	416·553	= 26·975	= 472·5
1 örtug = $\frac{1}{3}$ öre =	138·851	= 8·992	= 157·5
1 penny = $\frac{1}{10}$ örtug =	13·885	= 0·8992	= 15·75

To the last of the above-mentioned values, or that of the penny, the coins of Harold Haarderaade very nearly correspond, and he may have adopted the Norwegian weight mark for purposes of coining. The weights assigned for the mark and öre are corroborated by some weights found in Ringerige in Norway,⁴¹ which, however, by comparison with the foregoing results, seem to have lost by lying in the earth so much, that the öre is 3·964 grains, and the mark 31·708 grains less than these results, being 412·589 grains = 26·718 grammes = 468 æs, and 3300·716 grains = 213·745 grammes = 3744 æs, respectively.

Of all the denominations of weight, the ounce, which may have been introduced among us earlier than Christianity, and here in the North was called the öre, is that which has been most widely disseminated among different nations.⁴² On this was founded the higher

³⁹ Introduction to Norges Mynter i Middelalderen, p. 72.

⁴⁰ With perfect accuracy 3779·96483181 æs., so that the mark is so near to the divisible number 3780 that I have adopted it for this purpose.

⁴¹ See Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed, vol. i., p. 401, and Holmboe Das Älteste Münzwesen Norwegens, in Köhnés Zeitschrift für Münz. Siegel und Wappenkunde, vi. Jahrgang. Berlin, 1846.

⁴² Holmboe, On the Origin of the Scandinavian Weight System

denomination of the mark, which was 8 öre, while in Southern and Western Europe 12 ore were called a pound. The öre, or ounce, was somewhat different; not only in different countries, but also in provinces belonging to one and the same country, they might be unlike, and this may likewise partially have been the case in Norway. Still the correspondence between the above given data is in the highest degree remarkable. As the oldest (No. 1) gives, on an average of the two rings, $416.557 \text{ grains} = 26.975 \text{ grammes} = 472.5 \text{ æs}$ for the öre. Another instance, perhaps as old, but less, in consequence of the weights having lain so many centuries in the earth, $412.589 \text{ grains} = 26.718 \text{ grammes} = 468 \text{ æs}$. The latest (No. 4) gives $416.116 \text{ grains} = 26.948 \text{ grammes} = 472 \text{ æs}$; and the two (Nos. 2 and 3) which, so far as age goes, stand between the earliest and the latest, show so trifling an amount more for the öre than these, being respectively 416.66 and 416.868 grains , that the difference may be regarded as a vanishing quantity. It seems impossible that the correspondence between so many indications can have been accidental; but it may rather be accepted that the öre has, if not universally, yet still in many parts of the country, remained almost absolutely unaltered through many centuries.⁴³ Another remarkable circumstance in connection with the old Norwegian öre thus discovered is its striking correspondence with the Byzantine or Græco-Roman ounce, which, according to Sabatier, contained⁴⁴

in the Middle Ages; in Christiania Videnskabs Selskabets Forhandler for the year 1861, p. 105.

⁴³ An analogous example is cited by Ruding, vol. I. p. 102. According to him, the Cologne ounce of the present day is of the same weight as a standard stamped at Strasburg in the year 1238. Holmboe, l. c., p. 3 (note).

⁴⁴ *Revue Numismatique*, 1869, p. 20.

27 grammes = 416·917 grains = 472·9 æs. The Græco-Roman pound of 12 ounces would thus contain 324 grammes = 5003 grains = 5674·86 æs, and 8 ounces = 216 grammes = 3335·336 grains = 3783·24 æs. These values of the pound and ounce are deduced by Sabatier from four Byzantine weights of the early Middle Ages, preserved in the Museums of London⁴⁵ and Paris.

There is, therefore, ground to believe that commercial or other relations at an earlier period than the reception of Christianity in the North led to the introduction of the Byzantine ounce into our country, and it is, moreover, probable that Harold Haarderaade also brought with him from Greece the previously known weight for the öre, that he used it in dividing his treasures with Magnus the Good, and established it as a legal standard for a long period, during which it may have undergone small local changes, but has still been preserved in such a manner, in various parts of the country, that it has been possible for its right value to be again ascertained.

C. J. SCHIVE.

⁴⁵ Holmboe, in the *Videnskabs-Selskabets Forhandlinger* for 1864. The author of the present paper has had occasion to ascertain the weight of thirty-four Byzantine gold solidi, of which six should go to the ounce. On an average each weighed 67·218 grains Troy = 4·353 grammes = 76·248 æs. As the $\frac{1}{6}$ ounce contained 69·486 grains = 4·5 grammes = 78·88 æs, each solidus appears to be 2·268 grains lighter than it should be, which is probable enough, as many of them have lost by wear, or perhaps they were struck a little under weight.

NOTICE OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

“The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli, illustrated by Coins, Inscriptions,” &c. By Edward Thomas, F.R.S. Trübner and Co., 8vo. 1871.

THE handsome volume before us is the completion for one great branch of Oriental Numismatics of a course of research commenced a quarter of a century ago by its author, and is one of the most important volumes for the illustration of a brilliant portion of Indian history which has ever been published. As such, it will assuredly be hailed by many to whom the mere study of the coinage of Eastern nations has little interest, affording as it does a sound historical basis for many dates and events about which there has hitherto been wanting sure and satisfactory evidence. The period of time treated of is, for the Pathán Sultans of Dehli, about 360 years, from A.D. 1193 to A.D. 1554, and for the minor dynasty of the rulers or kings of Bengal, something less than 150 years, viz., from A.D. 1203 to A.D. 1350. For the history of the Second Dynasty, Mr. Thomas's work is invaluable, resting as it does in a great degree on the decipherment of a vast and recent *trouvaille* at Kooch Bahár of some 13,000 pieces of money, which has enabled him to bring together a body of numismatic evidence which was not available for any previous writer. We may, indeed, say that for an exhaustive account of the Bengal currency, we are wholly indebted to Mr. Thomas, the notices of it in Marsden and elsewhere being very scanty, and not seldom inaccurate. Mr. Thomas's work is embellished by the reproduction of engravings from Mr. Fergusson's "Handbook of Architecture," of many celebrated Indian structures, most, if not all of them, referring to monarchs whose coins are described, and by a large number of woodcuts of the coins themselves, which, in clearness of outline and beauty of execution, leave nothing to be desired. We think no drawings of Oriental coins comparable with these except the plates in Marsden's "Numismata Orientalia," which are still of unsurpassed excellence. Mr. Thomas has also been fortunate in being able to examine at his leisure several extensive collections of Indian coins, in private as well as in public hands, and thus, to have had materials for the prosecution of his researches such as it is safe to say no other Oriental scholar, not even Major-General Cunningham, has had at his disposal. We need hardly add that his work has been admirably accomplished; we could have expected no less from the accomplished editor of "James Prinsep's Essays"—a work which, apart from the interest every true scholar must have in

the record of anything that James Prinsep thought or wrote, derives almost its whole practical value from the numerous essays by Mr. Thomas himself, which he has incorporated into different parts of those two most useful volumes. We rejoice, therefore, that Mr. Thomas has found time to recast his original memoir of 1847, and we trust that its appreciation by the public may be such as to induce him, in a subsequent volume, to bring together his other essays and papers on Eastern Numismatics, which are at present chiefly known only to students of the Transactions of the Asiatic and of other Societies. There is a good deal now to be added to each of these memoirs, and, though collectors of Oriental coins may in England be few in number, the interest in all that concerns the antiquities of the East, daily increases as the natives of India itself are becoming more alive to the value of European researches into the early and mediæval history of their own country. As we have said, the chief subject of Mr. Thomas's book is expressed in its title. Readers, however, would be greatly mistaken if they were to suppose its contents were restricted to a description, however full, of the actual coins of the sixty or more princes to whose history it is devoted. *Inter alia*, students will find in it the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak, a very careful and elaborate treatise on the metrical and monetary systems of the Dehli sovereigns, a subject which has been repeatedly treated of by other writers, but nowhere, so far as we know, with so much care and accuracy. It would be well, if some of our English advocates of a purely decimal system would study the ancient metrical arrangements of a people who have, in other ways, no little native ability for mathematical studies. Mr. Thomas has also added descriptions of the coins from two or three minor mints, such as those of Jaunpûr, Gujurât, Málwah, and of the Bahmani rulers of the Deccan, which have, with one or two exceptions, been scarcely noticed before in numismatic works. Nor is this all. The curious in such things will find abundance of matters other than such as might have been expected in a history of coins, as, for instance, a very clear account of Indian revenues at five different periods, prices of corn at three other periods, details of the State revenues under several of the more eminent rulers—as Muhammad bin Tughlak, Akbar, and Aurangzéb—an account from the autobiography of Timûr of the state of India when he invaded it, with many curious extracts from the statements of early European voyagers or travellers to different parts of India. In fine, we commend Mr. Thomas's work to all students of Eastern history as replete with accurate details on a great variety of subjects beyond those which are purely numismatic.

V.

SUR LES MONNAIES DES ANTIOCHÉENS FRAPPÉES
HORS D'ANTIOCHE.

LETTRE À MR. BARCLAY HEAD, CONSERVATEUR-ADJOINT DU CABINET
DES MÉDAILLES, AU BRITISH MUSEUM.

MON CHER MONSIEUR HEAD,

Permettez-moi de vous offrir la primeur d'une nouvelle attribution de quelques monnaies antiques de la Terre-Sainte. J'ai d'autant plus de confiance dans la valeur de cette attribution que vous avez bien voulu la croire juste. Je la mets donc avec une entière confiance sous votre patronage, qui sera, je n'en doute pas, une excellente recommandation auprès des savants Numismatistes de l'Angleterre.

Veillez agréer l'expression de ma bien-sincère amitié,

F. DE SAULCY.

CHISLEHURST, 13 *Juin*, 1871.

Tous les Numismatistes connaissent de longue date la série des monnaies frappées par les gens d'Antioche, mais hors d'Antioche ; elles sont assez extraordinaires quant à leurs légendes et l'on est assez peu d'accord sur leur origine. L'existence de ces monnaies présente donc un véritable problème dont la solution est encore à trouver,

et que je vais essayer d'aborder à mon tour, sans me flatter pourtant de faire naître dans tous les esprits la conviction qui s'est emparée du mien. Commençons par bien définir le groupe des monuments numismatiques dont il va être question. Ce sont des pièces de cuivre dont les plus anciennes font leur apparition sous le règne et avec l'effigie du roi Séleucide Antiochus IV., surnommé Dieu Epiphane ; plus tard elles se retrouvent encore sous Antiochus VIII., Grypus, dont elles présentent l'effigie accolée à celle de sa mère Cléopâtre.

Ces monnaies ont été frappées dans trois localités distinctes à en juger par leur légendes—

ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ.

ANTIOXEΩN TΩN EN ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ.

ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗΙ.

Au revers de presque toutes ces pièces, quelque soit le lieu de leur émission, on voit le Jupiter Olympien debout, élevant de la main droite une couronne et de la gauche retenant la chlamyde dont il est revêtu ; le haut du corps est nu ; quelquefois, comme sur les pièces de Callirhoë, le Jupiter porte l'aigle sur la main droite, et s'appuie de la gauche sur une haste.

Sur les monnaies des Antiochéens de Ptolémaïs frappées pour Antiochus Grypus et sa mère, le revers présente une corne d'abondance remplie de fruits. Souvent des monogrammes dont il serait superflu de chercher à trouver le sens, se trouvent inscrits dans le champ du revers.

Cette description sommaire nous suffit quant à présent, et nous pouvons procéder à la recherche de l'origine de ces monnaies, sauf à en donner plus tard le catalogue le plus complet possible.

Commençons donc par interroger l'histoire en ce qui

touche Antiochus IV., le Dieu Epiphane, puisque c'est incontestablement sous son règne que ces curieuses monnaies ont fait leur première apparition.

Les deux livres des Macchabées nous sont ici d'un grand secours. Voici ce que nous y lisons :

I. MACCHABEES.—I.

v. 12. In diebus illis exierunt in Israel filii iniqui, et suaserunt multis dicentes. "Eamus et disponamus testamentum cum gentibus quæ circa nos sunt, quia ex quo recessimus ab eis invenerunt multa mala."

13. Et bonus visus est sermo in oculis eorum.

14. Et destinaverunt aliqui de populo, et abierunt ad regem: et dedit illis potestatem ut facerent justitiam gentium.

15. Et ædificaverunt gymnasium in Ierosolymis secundum leges nationum.

16. Et fecerunt sibi præputia et recesserunt a testamento sancto, et juncti sunt nationibus, et venundati sunt ut facerent malum.

II. MACCHABEES.—IV.

7. Sed post Seleuci vitæ excessum, cum suscepisset regnum Antiochus qui Nobilis appellabatur, ambiebat Jason frater Oniæ summum sacerdotium;

8. adito rege promittens ei argenti talenta trecenta sexaginta, et ex redditibus aliis talenta octoginta.

9. Super hæc promittebat et alia centum quinquaginta, si potestati ejus concederetur gymnasium et ephebiæ sibi constituere, et eos qui in Ierosolymis erant Antiochenos scribere.

10. Quod cum rex annuisset et obtinuisset principatum, statim ad gentilem ritum contribules suos transferre cœpit.

11. Et amotis his quæ humanitatis causâ Judæis a regibus fuerant constituta, et per Johannem patrem Eupolemi, qui apud Romanos de amicitia et societate functus est legatione legitimâ, civium jura destituens, prava instituta sanciebat.

12. Etenim ausus est sub ipsâ arce gymnasium constituere, et optimos quosque epheborum in lupanaribus ponere.

13. Erat autem hoc non initium sed incrementum quoddam et profectus gentilis et alienigenæ conversationis propter impium et non sacerdotis Jasonis nefarium et inauditum scelus,

14. ita ut sacerdotes jam non circa altaris officia dediti essent, sed contempto templo, et sacrificiis neglectis festinarent participes fieri palæstræ, et præbitionis ejus injustæ, et in exercitiis disci.

15. Et patrios quidem honores nihil habentes, græcas glorias optimas arbitrabantur :

16. quarum gratiâ periculosa eos contentio habebat, et eorum instituta æmulabantur ac per omnia his consimiles esse cupiebant, quos hostes et peremptores habuerant.

II. MACCHABEES.—VI.

1. Sed non post multum temporis, misit rex senem quemdam Antiochenum qui compelleret Judæos ut se transferrent à patriis et Dei legibus

2. contaminare etiam quod in Ierosolymis erat templum, et cognominare Jovis Olympii et in Garizim, pro-ut erant hi qui locum inhabitabant, Jovis Hospitalis.

* * * * *

8. Decretum autem exiit in proximas gentium civitates, suggerentibus Ptolemæis, ut pari modo et ipsi adversus Judæos agerent, ut sacrificarent.

9. Eos autem qui nollent transire ad instituta gentilium, interficerent, &c.

Passons maintenant à l'histoire profane, c'est à dire aux écrits de Flavius Josèphe.

Nous lisons au livre xii. des Antiquités Judaïques (iii. 1) que déjà pour les Juifs le Roi Séleucus Nicator s'était montré fort bienveillant et qu'il leur avait accordé droit de cité. Voici la traduction littérale de ce passage important : " Les Juifs ont été généreusement traités par les rois d'Asie, en récompense de leur services militaires ; en effet, Séleucus Nicator avait honoré les Juifs du droit de cité dans les villes qu'il fondait en Asie et dans la Basse Syrie, aussi bien que dans Antioche, métropole de ses états. À tous les Juifs qui résidaient dans ces villes il avait accordé des droits égaux à ceux des Macédoniens et des Grecs, et ces droits, ajoute Josèphe, ils les ont conservés intacts jusqu'à notre époque." ¹

(XII. v. 1 à 5.)—" Vers l'époque où Antiochus Epiphane monta sur le trône (176 avant J.C., 137 des Séleucides),

¹ C'est en 291 avant J.C. (22 de l'ère des Séleucides) que

Onias mourut (le vrai est qu'il fût destitué), laissant un fils en bas âge et du même nom que lui. Le roi de Syrie conféra alors la grande prêtrise à Jésus, frère du pontife défunt. Jésus avait changé son nom contre celui de Jason. Il ne resta pas longtemps revêtu du Pontificat, qu'Antiochus lui enleva pour le transmettre à son jeune frère, qui s'appelait aussi Onias, mais qui avait adopté le nom grec Ménélas. La discorde et l'envie étaient héréditaires dans cette famille sacerdotale. Ménélas, malgré l'appui de nombreux adhérents, ne se sentit pas de force à tenir tête à son frère, le précédent grand prêtre, que la majorité de la nation soutenait. Il quitta donc Jérusalem et se rendit avec ses amis auprès d'Antiochus. Ils lui déclarèrent que leur intention formelle était de désertir le culte de leurs ayeux et d'adopter celui des Grecs. Il va sans dire que toute protection leur fut promise, et à partir de ce moment, le culte judaïque fut ouvertement abandonné par un grand nombre de Juifs, le grand prêtre Ménélas leur donnant l'exemple de l'apostasie."

En l'année 145 de l'ère des Séleucides (166 avant J.C.), le 25 du mois hébraïque de *Chaslev* (Apellæus des Macédoniens), Apollonius, général d'Antiochus Epiphanes, envahit Jérusalem affectant les intentions les plus bienveillantes. A peine entré dans la Place il jeta le masque. Comme il n'était venu que pour piller les trésors du temple; il fit mettre à mort tous ceux qui firent mine de s'opposer à l'exécution de ses desseins iniques. Les

le droit de cité fut accordé par Séleucus Nicator à un grand nombre de Juifs, tant à Antioche que dans les nombreuses villes qu'il venait de fonder.

Simon le Juste, fils d'Onias I., était alors grand prêtre et réparait le temple de Jérusalem. Eléazar son frère lui succéda dans le Pontificat en 288 avant J.C. (25 des Séleucides), le fils du grand prêtre défunt, nommé Onias, étant encore trop jeune pour remplacer son père. Eléazar mourut en 255 avant J.C. (58 des Séleucides), et eut pour successeur Manassès, fils de Jaddous. Onias II. devint grand prêtre en 246 avant J.C. (67 des Séleucides), et eut pour successeur, en 236 avant J.C. (77 des Séleucides), son fils Simon III. Onias III. lui succéda vers 208 (105 des Séleucides). Jésus son frère, surnommé Jason, lui succéda en 175 avant J.C. (138 des Séleucides); il fut supplanté à son tour par son frère Ménélas en 172 avant J.C. (141 des Séleucides).

sacrifices quotidiens furent supprimés ; le ville fut mise à sac et incendiée ; beaucoup d'habitans furent égorgés et dix mille captifs environ furent enlevés. La citadelle d'Akra fut bâtie, et confiée à la garde d'une garnison Macédonienne renforcée de tous les rénégats qui voulurent s'y installer. Un autel fut construit sur l'autel des holocaustes, et on y sacrifia des porcs. Enfin le culte de Jéhovah fut aboli et remplacé, par ordre souverain, par celui des dieux qu'Antiochus adorait. Ce fut cette persécution furibonde qui fit éclore l'insurrection des Macchabées.

A ce même moment les Samaritains réclamèrent d'Antiochus Epiphane le droit de substituer le Zeus Hellenius au dieu innommé qu'ils avaient adoré jusque là dans le temple du mont Garizim.

On le voit, si les deux livres des Macchabées ne nous fournissaient pas des renseignements plus précis que ceux que nous trouvons dans les écrits de Josèphe, nous serions fort embarrassés pour établir que ce fut Jason qui, lorsqu'il fut parvenu à supplanter son frère Onias dans le Pontificat obtenu à prix d'or, fut autorisé par Antiochus Epiphane à "*Antiochenos scribere*" tous ceux des habitans de Jérusalem qui embrasseraient à son exemple le culte des Grecs et adopteraient les mœurs grecques.

Ménélas, après avoir supplanté à son tour son frère Jason, n'eut rien de plus pressé que de voler les vases sacrés du temple pour les vendre à son profit à Tyr, ou pour en faire cadeau à Andronic, régent qu'Antiochus en partant pour la haute Asie avait laissé à la tête de l'état.

Le grand prêtre dépossédé, Onias, crut le moment favorable pour revendiquer ses droits, et dénonça au roi le méfait scandaleux de Ménélas. Celui-ci accourut à Antioche, et, grâce à des largesses, réussit à persuader au

régent de le débarrasser d'Onias son frère par un assassinat (II. Macchabées iv. 35). Quod cum certissime cognovisset, Onias arguebat eum, ipse in loco tecto se continens Antiochæ, secus Daphnen.

Daphné était en effet un asile déclaré inviolable.² Andronic en fit sortir Onias, après s'être engagé sous la foi du serment à le traiter en ami, et le fit égorger. A son retour à Antioche le roi, indigné de cet acte abominable, fit mettre à mort Andronic au point même où Onias avait été massacré (ceci se passa en 171 avant J. C., 142 des Séleucides).

Nous sommes dès maintenant en possession des faits suivants :—

1°. Les Juifs apostats avaient reçu le droit de cité dans Antioche et prenaient le titre d'Antiochéens.

2°. Le Dieu qu'ils adoptèrent était Jupiter Olympien.

3°. Lors de la promulgation du décret par lequel Antiochus Epiphane prétendit abolir en Judée le culte judaïque, ce fut à l'instigation des habitans de Ptolémaïs ; et par ceux-ci il faut certainement entendre les Juifs rénégats fixés à Ptolémaïs, car il n'y a pas de plus ardens persécuteurs de leurs anciens coréligionnaires que les apostats.

Que voyons-nous sur les monnaies qui font le sujet de cette notice ? des Antiochéens établis EN ΠΙΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ, ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ, et ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗΙ, qui adorent Jupiter Olympien, dont-ils ont soin de placer l'effigie au revers de celle du roi Antiochus Epiphane. Dès lors pourquoi hésiterions-nous à reconnaître dans ces prétendus Antio-

² Ce fut Séleucus Nicator qui consacra le bois sacré de Daphné à Apollon et à Diane, en l'an 300 avant J.C. (an 13 de l'ère des Séleucides).

chéens, les Juifs rénégats qui après l'apostasie de Jason allèrent s'établir hors de Jérusalem, pour n'avoir plus de contact journalier avec ceux dont ils avaient déserté les mœurs et le culte? Pour ma part, après y avoir mûrement réfléchi, je crois que les faits que je viens de rappeler nous fournissent la seule solution satisfaisante du problème historique que présentait l'existence de ces étranges monnaies.

Avant de procéder à la description de celles qui me sont connues, il ne paraîtra sans doute pas hors de propos de faire connaître les explications qui ont été proposées jusqu'ici.

Le savant Eckhel (Doct. Num. Vet. tom. iii. p. 305, et suivantes) a résumé, avec son talent et son érudition, ordinaires, les opinions de ses devanciers. Pour lui les monnaies des Antiochéens ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ ne peuvent laisser de doute; le fameux sanctuaire de Daphné, si voisin d'Antioche, est ici indiqué, et il en résulte qu'une corporation de marchands d'Antioche s'étaient établis en ce point et avaient émis une monnaie à eux, pour les besoins de leur commerce. Vaillant admet qu'une Antioche, inconnue parmi les écrivains de l'antiquité, a dû exister près de Ptolémaïs, et que c'est à cette ville imaginaire que reviennent de droit les monnaies des Antiochéens ΕΝ ΠΙΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ. Restent enfin les monnaies des Antiochéens ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗΙ. A leur sujet Eckhel constate que la plupart des Numismatistes y ont vu des monnaies d'Edesse, parce que Pline (l. v. § 21) cite—“Edessam, quæ quondam Antiochia dicebatur, Callirhoen a fonte nominatam;” et qu'Etienne de Byzance paraît mentionner la même ville, lorsqu'en faisant l'énumération des diverses Antioches à lui connues, il cite—ὁ γδοη ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς Καλλιρρόης λίμνης. D'autres cependant, ajoute Eckhel, ont

pensé à une Antioche située peut-être sur le fleuve Callirhoë qui arrose Damas. Il y a ici évidemment un *lapsus calami*, car le fleuve de Damas s'appelait Chrysorrhoas et non Callirhoë.

Est venu alors Pellerin, qui n'a pu admettre que des monnaies semblables de forme, de fabrique et de types, et qui portaient presque toujours l'effigie d'Antiochus IV., pussent ne pas appartenir à la même contrée. Pour lui les monnaies certaines d'Edesse n'avaient jamais porté le nom d'Antioche. Qui donc, ajoute-t-il, a jamais cité une ville d'Antioche placée près de Ptolémaïs ? Pellerin conclut de tout cela que ces monnaies ont été frappées par des Antiochéens formant, dans l'intérêt de leur commerce, des corporations établies à Daphné, à Ptolémaïs et à Callirhoë ; que quant à cette dernière il ne faut pas y voir Edesse, mais bien les célèbres eaux thermales situées de l'autre côté du Jourdain, auxquelles Hérode sur la fin de sa vie vint demander un soulagement qu'il n'en obtint pas. L'affluence des baigneurs devait en effet rendre cette localité très favorable au commerce.³ Eckhel déclare pencher pour l'avis de Pellerin ; et d'abord, à propos de Ptolémaïs, il fait observer que la formule EN ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΑΙ, qui signifie nettement, dans Ptolémaïs ; ne saurait s'appliquer à une ville voisine de Ptolémaïs, puisque ce sont les prépositions ΙΠΟΣ, ΕΠΙ, ΑΠΟ, qui servent à caractériser le voisinage, tandis que la préposition EN, indique une situation à l'intérieur même de la localité mentionnée.⁴

³ Voyez Pellerin. Recueil, tom ii., pour les Antiochéens établis à Daphné, p. 187 et 188 ; pour ceux de Ptolémaïs, p. 234 et 235 ; enfin, pour ceux de Callirhoë, p. 25 à 253.

⁴ Pellerin, t. ii., du Recueil, p. 234, s'exprime ainsi. Le P. Hardouin les avait d'abord attribuées à des négociants d'Antioche

La présence presque constante de l'effigie d'Antiochus IV. sur ces curieuses monnaies suggère à la sagacité d'Eckhel l'hypothèse suivante, qui est juste de tout point :—

“In his numis sæpe proponitur caput Antiochi IV. diadematum radiatum, quo forte regnante peregrinis his Antiochenis jura quædam fuere constituta.”

Certes Eckhel a été bien près de trouver la solution qui à mon avis est la véritable—n'a-t-il fait que l'entrevoir, ou n'a-t-il pas osé la proposer ? C'est ce que nous ne pourrions jamais savoir.

Je ne mentionnerai plus que le passage suivant, emprunté à Pellerin (*Recueil*, tom. ii. p. 135). On comprend aisément que des compagnies de négociants qui avaient obtenu des rois de Syrie le privilège de former des établissements en différentes villes de leur royaume, ont pu faire fabriquer des monnaies, soit pour leur payer des tributs, soit pour leur propre commerce. Mais on ne voit pas pourquoi ni à quelle fin il en aurait été frappé une aussi grande quantité en différents temps par des habitans de Ptolemaïs, pour avoir obtenu le droit de citoyens d'Antioche.

J'avoue que je ne suis nullement touché de la justesse de ce raisonnement, et que le P. Hardouin, dont l'avis a été partagé par Liebe et par le P. Froelich, me semble avoir été beaucoup plus près de la vérité.

Je puis maintenant procéder à l'énumération des monnaies qui forment le groupe numismatique dont je viens de m'occuper.

établis à Ptolémaïs, et Spanheim, ainsi que Beger, ont adhéré à cet avis. Depuis, il a jugé qu'il fallait plutôt les référer à des habitans de Ptolemaïs, qui avaient obtenu le droit de citoyens à Antioche, ce qui leur avait fait prendre le nom d'Antiochéens.

ANTIOXEON TON IPOΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ.

Obv.—Tête royale, jeune, radiée.

Rev.—ANTIOXEON TON IPOΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ. Dans le champ à gauche un trépied surmontant les deux lettres ΔΑ. Jupiter Olympien regardant à gauche, le haut du corps nu; de la main droite levée il tient une couronne, et de la gauche il rassemble ses vêtements. Æ. 16 mill. Pellerin, Recueil, t. ii., Pl. lxxvi., No. 16., p. 187.



Pellerin fait observer que les lettres ΔΑ sont remplacées sur d'autres exemplaires par les lettres ΔΒ, ou par des monogrammes, et que par conséquent le groupe ΔΑ ne peut contenir une date. Si nous en jugeons par la figure publiée par Pellerin, il semble que cette monnaie appartiendrait plutôt à Antiochus V. Eupator, qu'à Antiochus IV. Epiphane. Mais il ne me paraît pas possible de décider une pareille question sans avoir vu la pièce en nature.

Le P. Froehlich attribue la même monnaie à Antiochus IV. (p. 51, No. 20, Pl. vii., No. 20). Celle qu'il a fait graver ne porte pas de lettres dans le champ. Il se contente pour le module de faire suivre sa description de l'indication Æ. 3.



Le No. 21 de même recueil diffère du précédent en ce qu'il porte dans le champ des lettres ΔΙ, et un monogramme mal déterminé.

Sous le No. 22 sont groupés d'autres exemplaires offrant les uns dans le champ les lettres ΓΑ, ΒΑ, et un autre un trépied; d'autres, des monogrammes différents ainsi représentés sous le No. 22, de la Pl. vii. Α Γ Α Ρ Γ Β Α Β. Froehlich a négligé d'ailleurs de nous dire si ces signes sont isolés ou répartis par groupes.


Le même auteur attribue à Antiochus VIII. une pièce du même module Æ. 3, offrant l'effigie radiée d'Antio-

chus IV. Epiphane qu'il est impossible de ne pas reconnaître, et le même type du revers avec les deux monogrammes  et  placés à droite et à gauche dans le champ (p. 93, No. 9, Pl. xiii., No. 9). Il lit à tort dans la légende le mot $\Delta\Lambda\Phi\text{NH}\text{N}$, au lieu de $\Delta\Lambda\Phi\text{NH}\text{I}$.

Je possède un exemplaire de cette monnaie, sans lettres ni monogramme placés dans le champ, et qui offre indubitablement l'effigie d'Antiochus IV. Son diamètre est de 21 millimètres. C'est bien le No. 20 de la Pl. vii. de Froelich.

Une second exemplaire de ma collection, du diamètre de 20 sur 18 millimètres, porte à gauche dans le champ un monogramme peu visible, dans lequel néanmoins je crois reconnaître la forme . L'effigie est toujours celle d'Antiochus IV. Enfin un troisième exemplaire à l'effigie d'Antiochus IV., et du diamètre de 17 millimètres, présente à gauche dans le champ le monogramme  placé au dessus d'une espèce de cippe arrondi au sommet, et qui pourrait être pris, soit pour un casque, soit pour l'omphalos, siège sur lequel Apollon est toujours représenté assis, sur les tétradrachmes des premiers rois Séleucides.

Eckhel (Doct., tom. iii., p. 305) cite les monnaies décrites par Pellerin et par Froelich, en mentionnant le Cabinet de Vienne comme contenant des spécimens de ces monnaies.

Mionnet, dans son Supplément (tom. viii., p. 29), décrit sous le No. 156 une variété des monnaies à l'effigie d'Antiochus IV. frappée par les Antiochéens établis près de Daphné, et elle diffère des précédentes par le présence d'un monogramme formé des lettres TA. Son module est \mathcal{A}^{E} . 5. Ne serait-il pas possible que ce monogramme soi-disant nouveau ne fût que le monogramme  déjà décrit, et que le médiocre état de la pièce aurait empêché

de reconnaître ? Ce serait à vérifier au cabinet des médailles où la pièce doit se trouver.

A la page 149 du même tom. viii., Mionnet, après avoir renvoyé aux monnaies grecques de bronze frappées pour Antiochus IV. Epiphane, à Daphné, et décrites dans son volume v. p. 215 et suivantes, dit ceci : " On y rencontre quelquefois la date ΔΜΡ, de l'ère des Séleucides."

ΔΜΡ c'est 144, c'est à dire l'année qui a immédiatement suivi la profanation du Temple de Jérusalem. Il y aurait là, ce me semble, un singulier indice de plus de la haine que les Juifs rénégats nourrissaient contre leurs anciens coréligionnaires.

Sous le No. 131 (même page) Mionnet emprunte à Sestini la description d'une monnaie analogue, du module Æ. 5, sans lettre ni monogramme dans le champ du revers. La légende y serait aussi abrégée, ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝ (Musée de Hedervar. iii. p. 52, No. 226. C. M. H., No. 5926). J'avoue n'avoir pas une grande confiance dans l'exactitude de cette description, par la raison seule qu'elle est empruntée à Sestini.

Sous le No. 132, je lis : " Autre, ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗ même type ; dans le champ, d'un côté, ΓΑ, de l'autre Δ—Æ. 4," d'après Sestini, Mus. Hederv. iii., p. 52, No. 227. Enfin, sous le No. 133 on trouve : " Autre avec ΓΑ et le monogramme [Υ].—Æ. 4. Sestini l.c. No. 228.—C. M. H. No. 5927."

Je terminerai cette énumération par celle des variétés que je trouve mentionnées dans le catalogue Rollin et Feuardent (1864) sous les Nos. suivants :—

7090. Types habituels ; dans le champ ΓΑ et ΑΝΒ.—Æ. 5.

7091. Dans le champ. ΠΑΩ en monogramme.—Æ. 5.

7092. Dans le champ. ΕΛ et un trépied.—Æ. 3.

7092bis. Autre. Sans lettre ni symbole. 2 exemplaires.—Æ. 3.

De tout ce qui précède nous pouvons hardiment conclure que les variétés de ces monnaies sont extrêmement multipliées.

Voyons maintenant s'il n'est pas possible de trouver une autre attribution tout aussi vraisemblable pour la Daphné dont il est question dans la légende.

Et d'abord le sanctuaire placé à une lieue environ d'Antioche, n'était pour ainsi dire qu'un faubourg de cette ville magnifique et rien ne justifierait l'emploi de la formule $\text{ANTIOXEON PROS DAPHNI}$ pour désigner les Antiochéens eux-mêmes, habitans d'un quartier particulier de leur ville; nous connaissons des centaines de pièces frappées à Antioche qui ne prend jamais que son titre de métropole. Par quelle singulière circonstance, d'ailleurs inexplicable, cette population aurait-elle imaginé de se distinguer de celles de toutes les autres Antioches, par la particularité qu'elle était près de Daphné? C'est bien évidemment à des citoyens d'Antioche établis hors de la métropole qu'appartient la légende en question. Les Juifs apostats qui avaient reçu d'Antiochus IV. le droit de cité et le nom d'Antiochéens, avaient-ils été se grouper dans le voisinage de l'asyle de Daphné, par précaution pour l'avenir? C'est fort possible. Remarquons toutefois qu'il a existé dans la Judée même une Daphné dont j'ai jadis révoqué l'existence en doute, suivant en cela le jugement presque toujours infailible de Reland. Mais comme l'emplacement de cette Daphné a été déterminé avec une entière certitude par Robinson, je suis obligé aujourd'hui de reconnaître que cette ville a existé, et que le texte de Josèphe, où cette ville est mentionné, doit-être respecté. Il n'y a plus d'apparence de raison pour y changer en DAPHNI le mot DAPHNE .

Voici le texte (B. J. IV. ii. 1) dans lequel il est question du lac Samakhonite qui s'étendait en marais :—

μέχρι Δάφνης χωρίου...πηγὰς ἔχοντος αἱ τρέφουσαι τὸν μικρὸν καλούμενον Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ τὸ τῆς χρυσῆς βοῆς νεὸν προσπέμπουσι τῷ μεγάλῳ.

Robinson, après avoir exploré le Tell-el-kadhi,—emplacement presque probable de Dan et du Temple du Veau d'Or—eut l'idée de visiter le pays situé au sud de ce Tell. Voici comment il s'exprime au sujet de cette course. (Tom. iii., p. 393. Ed. de Londres, 1856.)

“Mounting at 12.35, and descending along the south side of Tell-el-Kady, we were surprised to find ourselves again upon a limestone formation, and also upon firm dry ground, instead of a marsh. At 1 o'clock we came to a low mound of rubbish, with cut stones, evidently the remains of a former town, now covered thickly with thistles. It is called Diffneh, and probably marks the site of an ancient Daphne, mentioned by Josephus as near the source of the lower Jordan, and the Temple of the Golden Calf. Here are three or four old orange trees, several stumps of palm trees, and also pomegranates and fig trees, looking very old. The tract for some distance south is called Ar Diffneh,” &c.

L'existence de cette Daphné une fois bien établie, je ne vois pas trop pourquoi l'on n'admettrait pas que les monnaies des Antiochéens $\Pi\text{PO}\Sigma\ \Delta\text{ΑΦ}\text{NH}\text{I}$, ont pu être frappées dans cette localité qui était beaucoup plus rapprochée de la mère patrie, par les Juifs rénégats qui avaient quitté Jérusalem. Je me demande en effet si les véritables habitants d'Antioche auraient toléré facilement à leur porte l'autonomie de gens prenant leur nom, tout en faisant tout ce qu'il fallait pour bien tracer une ligne de démarcation entre eux et leurs opulents voisins. Tout bien considéré, je propose cette nouvelle attribution avec une certaine confiance.

ANTIOXEON TON EN IITOAEMAIAI.

Le P. Froelich (P. 51, No. 24) cite d'après Vaillant sans en donner la figure, la pièce suivante :

Obv.—Tête d'Antiochus IV., radiée.

Rev.—ANTIOXEON TON EN IITOAEMAIAI. Jupiter Olympien debout, élevant une couronne de la main droite et ramassant son vêtement de la main gauche. Æ. 2. ou 3.

C'est très-probablement la même monnaie qu'il décrit plus loin au règne d'Antiochus VIII. d'après Beger, et sous le No. 11 de la page 93 ; il lui attribue le module Æ. 3, et n'en donne pas la figure. C'est encore la même monnaie qui est citée dans le catalogue Rollin et Feuardent sous le No. 7093.—Æ. 6.


Pellerin n'en fait pas figurer non plus dans la Pl. lxxxiv. (Recueil, tom. ii.)

Eckhel (tom. iii., p. 305) cite cette même monnaie décrite par Beger (Th. Br., tom. iii., p. 25), avec le module Æ. 3, comme se trouvant au cabinet de Vienne, avec le module Æ. 2.

Mionnet (Suppl., tom. viii., p. 30, No. 159) décrit la même pièce, du module Æ. 6, offrant dans le champ à gauche un astre, et à droite les lettres MY. Cette pièce est tirée de Combe (Vet. pop. et Reg. num., p. 205, No. 21, tab. xii., No. 3.)

Je possède un exemplaire de cette monnaie provenant de Nazareth et offrant les types suivantes :—


Obv.—Tête radiée d'Antiochus IV.



Rev.—Le Jupiter Olympien du type ordinaire. ANTIOXEON TON EN IITOAEMAIAI : dans le champ à gauche le monogramme  ; à droite M. (Il serait possible que cette lettre M indubitable fit partie d'un monogramme altéré.) Æ. 24 mill.

Les monnaies que nous allons maintenant passer en

revue n'appartiennent plus au règne d'Antiochus IV., ou du moins elles n'offrent plus l'effigie de ce prince.

Obr.—Tête de femme tourelée, tournée à droite.

Rev.—ANTIOXEON TON EN ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ. Victoire debout, tenant de la main droite une haste bifurquée à sa partie supérieure, et dans laquelle Eckhel voit une palme, à gauche dans le champ le monogramme . Æ. 2. Pellerin (t. ii., p. 234, Pl. lxxxiv., fig. 3). Eckhel (D. N. V., t. iii., p. 305).

On remarque l'analogie qui existe entre ce monogramme  et celui de la pièce précédente  qui appartient certainement au règne d'Antiochus IV. Cela pourrait nous conduire à penser que ces deux monnaies de types distincts, ont été cependant émises à des époques très rapprochées, sinon à la même.

Obr.—Tête de femme tourelée, tournée à droite.

Rev.—ANTIOXE.—EN. ΠΤΟΛ. (En légende circulaire)—Jupiter Olympien debout, regardant à gauche : de la main droite il tient une patère et s'appuie de la main gauche sur une haste. Dans le champ, en haut, à gauche L.Θ. (l'an IX.) ; une contre-marque indéterminée est dans un cercle imprimé sur la partie inférieure de l'image de Jupiter. Sur cette contre-marque empiète un Z qui fait partie du type primitif. Æ. 2. Pellerin, l. c., Pl. lxxxiv., fig. 4). Eckhel (l. c., p. 305).

Obr.—Tête de Jupiter tournée à droite.

Rev.—ANTIOXEON TON—EN ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ—ΙΕΡΑΣ ΑΣΥΑ. Femme demi-nue, debout, regardant à gauche ; de la main droite elle tient deux flambeaux, et de la gauche s'appuie sur une haste. Æ. 2. Pellerin (l. c. fig. 5). Eckhel (l. c. p. 305).

Obr.—Tête laurée d'Apollon tournée à droite.

Rev.—ANTIOXEON—EN ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑ. Une lyre. Au dessous en deux lignes ΑΣ—Κ.Α. (ΑΣΥΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ). Æ. 3. Pellerin (l. c. fig. 6). Eckhel (l. c. p. 305).

Mionnet (Suppl., tom. viii., p. 150) énumère ainsi qu'il suit les pièces de cette classe, décrites dans son ouvrage :—
 “ Voyez dans la description (tom. v., p. 216) les médailles autonomes grecques, en bronze, quelquefois avec ces époques : ☉—☉☿ ; celles qui ont été frappées pour Antiochus IV. sans époque, et pour Antiochus VIII. et Cléopâtre, tantôt sans époque ou avec cette époque, ☉ΠΡ.”
 Il décrit ensuite la pièce suivante :—

134. *Obr.*—Tête imberbe, diadémé.

Rev.—ANTIO ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑ Corne d'abondance. Æ. 3. Combe., Vet. pop. et Reg. Num., p. 222, No. 2, Pl. xii., No. 19.

La double date, ☉ et ☉☿, rapportée par Mionnet, me paraît, je l'avoue, difficile à admettre ; si l'une des deux est bonne, l'autre ne peut plus guère l'être—il semble bien impossible en effet que la même type ait été employé ainsi à 90 ans de distance.

L'an ☉ pourrait à la rigueur être pris pour l'an 9 de l'autonomie accordée aux Antiocheens de Ptolémaïs. Si cette autonomie leur a été accordée à la demande du grand prêtre Jason vers l'an 174 avant J.C. (139 des Séleucides), l'an IX coïnciderait avec l'an 165 avant J.C. (143 des Séleucides), année dans laquelle Judas Maccabée purifia le Temple, et restaura le culte judaïque à Jérusalem ; cette même année étant celle de la mort d'Antiochus IV. ce dernier fait rendrait très bien compte du changement de type adopté par les Antiochéens de Ptolemaïs. Quant à la date 99 (☉☿), en la comptant de la même ère elle nous amènerait à l'an 75 avant J.C. (238 des Séleucides), année dans laquelle Antiochus X., Eusèbe, mari de Cléopâtre Séléné, mourut en Commagène. Rien donc ne peut nous rendre un compte satisfaisant de cette date, à laquelle, je le répète, je ne crois guère.

ANTIOCHUS VIII. ET CLÉOPATRE, SA MÈRE.

Nous avons vu tout à l'heure, que Mionnet (tom. v., p. 216) cite des monnaies de cette espèce, tantôt sans époque, tantôt avec l'époque ΘΠΡ (189).

Le P. Froelich (p. 93) décrit les pièces suivantes :—

No. 5. *Obv.*—Têtes accolées de Cléopâtre et d'Antiochus.


Rev.—ANTIOXEΩN TΩN EN ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ. Corne d'abondance, de laquelle sort une grappe de raisin. dans le champ ΔΝ. Æ. 3 (Pl. xiii., No. 5).

No. 6. *Obv.*—Même légende que sur la précédente, mais avec le date ΘΠΡ (189). Les types du droit et du revers de cette pièce ne sont pas décrits par le P. Hardouin, à qui Froelich a emprunté la pièce en question. Æ. 3.

Nous resterions dans une grande incertitude sur l'existence de cette pièce, grâce au vague absolu de la description qui précède, si nous n'avions l'indication donnée par Mionnet, qui certainement n'aurait pas parlé d'une monnaie des Antiochéens de Ptolemaïs frappée pour Antiochus VIII. et Cléopâtre, avec la date ΘΠΡ, s'il ne l'avait connue que par la mention écourtée de Froelich et de Hardouin. L'an ΘΠΡ, 189 des Séleucides, convient parfaitement d'ailleurs au règne d'Antiochus VIII., Grypus, puisque c'est dans l'année précédente que sa mère Cléopâtre lui a donné la couronne après avoir fait mettre à mort son fils aîné, Seleucus V.


Mionnet dans son Supplément (tom. viii. p. 150) décrit la pièce suivante de cette série :—

135. *Obv.*—Têtes accolées d'Antiochus VIII. et de Cléopâtre, diadémées et surmontées du lotus.

Rev.—ANTIOXEΩN TΩN EN ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ. Corne d'abondance ; dans le champ à droite, le monogramme . Æ. 4. D'après Sestini. Mus. Héderv. iii., p. 52, No. 229, C. M. H., No. 5929).

Je possède un très bel exemplaire de la monnaie d'Antiochus VIII. et de sa mère Cléopâtre ; en voici la description :—

Obv.—Têtes accolées d'Antiochus et de Cléopâtre, tournées à droite ; celle d'Antiochus est laurée.

Rev.—ANTIOXEΩN TΩN EN ΠTOΔEMAI (sic). Corne d'abondance, de laquelle pend une grappe de raisin ; dans le champ à gauche le monogramme . Æ. 16 mill.

Eckhel, de son côté, mentionne les deux pièces suivantes :

Obv.—Deux têtes laurées accouplées.

Rev.—ANTIOXEΩN TΩN EN ΠTOΔEMAIΔI IEΠΑΣ AYTOY. Corne d'abondance ; dans le champ L. IP (110). Æ. 3. (Doct. Num. Vet., t. iii. p. 305), d'après Liebe (Goth. Num., p. 160).

La date IP, qui nous reporte au règne d'Antiochus III., avertit tout d'abord que la pièce a été très mal lue. Nous n'en tiendrons donc pas compte :—

Obv.—Même type au droit.

Rev.—ANTIOXEΩN TΩN EN ΠTOΔEMAIΔI IEΠΑΣ AYTON. Corne d'abondance ; dans le champ AI. ou ΔN. et la date ΘΠP, qui cependant manque sur d'autres exemplaires. Æ. 3. Cabinet de Vienne et Pellerin (Rois, p. 102, Pl. xii.).

La figure publiée par Pellerin justifie pleinement et le P. Froelich et Mionnet, qui avaient parfaitement le droit de mentionner la monnaie avec la date ΘΠP.

Enfin, dans le catalogue Rollin et Feuardenet (No. 7094), je trouve inscrit un exemplaire de cette monnaie, sans lettre ni symbole dans le champ.

ANTIOXEΩN TΩN EΠI KAAAIPOHI.

Les monnaies des Antiochéens de Callirhoë sont connues de tout le monde.

L. P. Froelich (p. 51) décrit deux variétés de cette monnaie, Æ. III. No. 25, d'après Vaillant :—

Obv.—Tête d'Antiochus IV. radiée. ANTIOXEΩN TΩN
ΠΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΩΗΝ. Jupiter debout, tenant
de la main droite une couronne ou une patère ;
et de la gauche une haste (Pl. vii., No. 25).


Æ. 3, No. 26. Sur un exemplaire étudié en nature
et décrit également dans le Musée Theupoli.

Obv.—Même tête d'Antiochus IV., radiée.

Rev.—ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΩΗΝ. Jupiter
debout, tenant sur la main droite un aigle, et
s'appuyant de la gauche sur une haste.

De ces deux descriptions qui sont toutes deux défectueuses, la dernière est la moins mauvaise. Quant à la légende, elle contient toujours le mot ΚΑΛΛΙΡΩΗ au datif, tout autre leçon est donc à rejeter. Parmi les monnaies d'Antiochus VIII. (p. 93) le P. Froelich reproduit encore la description suivante—d'après Beger :—

Obv.—Tête radiée du roi. Æ. 3, No. 10 (Pl. xiii., No. 10).

Rev.—ANTIOXEΩN TΩN ΠΡ. ΚΑΛΛΙΡΩΗΝ. Jupiter
debout, portant un aigle sur la main droite et
s'appuyant de la gauche sur la haste ; dans le
champ le monogramme , au dessus d'un I.

Cette description, on le voit, n'est pas meilleure que les deux premières ; la pièce d'ailleurs appartient à Antiochus IV.

Pellerin (tom. ii., pp. 250 à 253) avait déjà corrigé les mauvaises leçons que je viens de reproduire d'après Froelich.

Voici ce qu'il en dit :—“ Au reste les médailles que Vaillant avait vues étaient apparemment mal conservées, y ayant lu ΠΡΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΩΗΝ. Il y a sur celles-ci et sur toutes celles que l'on connaît, ΕΠΙ, au lieu de ΠΡΟΣ, et un iota à la fin du mot ΚΑΛΛΙΡΩΗ, comme il y en a un

à la fin du mot $\Delta\Lambda\Phi\text{NHI}$; ce qui est encore une conformité qui fait connaître que les unes et les autres sont du même pays" (p. 253).

La figure que donne Pellerin (Pl. lxxxv., No. 27) nous offre une tête radiée extrêmement jeune et qui conviendrait mieux à Antiochus V., Eupator, qu'à son père Antiochus IV., Epiphane. Au revers, le Jupiter Olympien porte un aigle sur la main droite, et s'appuie de la gauche sur une haste ; à gauche dans le champ sont placées les lettres $\text{C}\Omega$.—Æ. 20 mill. Je ferai remarquer en passant qu'il semble singulier que les deux formes Ω et $\text{C}\Omega$ de l'oméga paraissent en même temps, cela me donne à penser que la pièce a été mal lue.

Eckhel (D. N. V., tom. iii., p. 305) décrit exactement la monnaie en question d'après le Musée de Vienne et d'après Pellerin ; il ne parle pas de lettres, ni de monogrammes placés dans le champ.

Mionnet (Suppl. tom viii., p. 30) décrit sous le No. 157 une pièce de module Æ. 5 offrant exactement les mêmes types et en plus dans le champ le monogramme Λ .

A la page 148 du même tom. viii. du Supplément, Mionnet renvoie au tom. v. de la description générale page 215, où sont décrites les monnaies de cette série frappées par Antiochus IV., Epiphane. Puis, sous le No. 130, il reproduit la description d'une pièce du Musée Hédervar publiée par Sestini (tom. iii., p. 52, No. 230 ; C. M. H. No. 5930). Ce sont toujours les mêmes types ; mais il n'est pas question de lettres, ni de monogramme placés dans le champ du revers ; le module indiqué est Æ. 4.

Dans le catalogue Rollin et Feuardent sont inscrites les variétés suivantes :—

7087. Types accoutumés ; dans le champ ΣH en monogramme. Æ. 5. Deux exemplaires.

7088. Mêmes types ; Σ dans le champ. Æ. 4.

7089. Mêmes types. Dans le champ AN en monogramme. Æ. 3. Deux exemplaires.

Ce No. 7089 est sans doute le No. 157 de Mionnet décrit ci-dessus.

Voici pour terminer la description de l'exemplaire que je possède :—

Obr.—Tête jeune radiée, tout à fait semblable à celle d'Antiochus V., Eupator.

Rev.—ANTIOXEΩN TΩN EΠI KAAAIPOHI. Jupiter Olympien, demi-nu, tourné à gauche, portant un aigle sur la main droite, et de la gauche s'appuyant sur la haste ; dans le champ à gauche le monogramme AN. (Serait-ce encore le No. 157 de Mionnet, 7089 du Catalogue Rollin et Feuardent ?) Æ. 19 sur 15 mill.

Il ne me reste plus qu'à citer ici pour mémoire une pièce qui pourrait fort bien rentrer dans le groupe intéressant que je viens d'étudier. Elle est ainsi décrite par Mionnet (Suppl., tom viii., p. 30).

158. *Obr.*—Antiochia ad Mygdoniam, postea Nisibis Mesopotamiæ. Tête radiée d'Antiochus IV., à droite ; derrière, BX.

Rev.—ANTIOXEΩN TΩN II MYΓΔONIA. Victoire marchant à gauche, tenant une couronne de la main droite et une palme de la gauche ; à droite ΜΣ, à gauche AP ; à l'exergue . . Ω (ut videtur) cabinet de M. Millingen. Æ. 4.

Il peut se faire, ainsi que je l'ai dit tout à l'heure, que l'origine de cette rare monnaie soit encore la même que celles des pièces de Daphné, de Ptolemaïs, et de Callirhoë ; mais je me garderais bien de l'affirmer.

Nisibi de la Mésopotomie était une ville située sur le Tigre, et portait chez les Grecs le nom d'Antiochia Mygdonia, d'après le témoignage de Théodoret. (Hist., l. i. c. 7). La légende de la monnaie en question peut donc parfaitement ne pas concerner des Juifs établis à Nisibi, et ayant reçu les droits de cité et le nom d'Antiochéens.

Quoiqu'il en soit, je n'ai pas cru pouvoir me dispenser de mentionner la pièce en question, à la suite de toutes celles que j'avais à étudier, précisément parce qu'elle avait été frappée comme elles, à l'effigie d'Antiochus IV., Epiphane.

F. DE SAULCY.

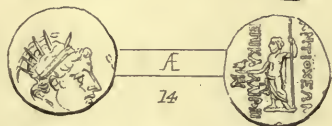
PARIS, 12 *Novembre*, 1870.



ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ.



ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΤΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ.



ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΡΟΗΙ.

7 T 244.

VI.

THE SILVER COINAGE OF HENRY IV., V., AND VI.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 17, 1871.]

My collection of coins being now sufficiently complete to illustrate clearly my views respecting the classification of the entire silver coinage of Henry IV., V., and VI., I will communicate to this Society the conclusions at which I have arrived. The foundation-stone to the following arrangement was laid by my paper, "On the London and Calais Groats of Henry IV., V., and VI."¹ That paper showed roughly the arrangement of the groats without entering into details, and the arguments then used will, with one or two exceptions, not be recapitulated here. This paper, on the other hand, will enter into all necessary details; the coins which dovetail into and follow each other with remarkable regularity will be traced in the order in which they were issued from the mint; a marked and easily recognised distinction will be made between the coinages of each king; the arguments used will be founded on facts—theory will be eschewed; and the results arrived at, if contested, can be supported by further evidence.

In a series of coins extending over a period of sixty years, a few rare intermediate types will necessarily super-

¹ Num. Chron., n.s., vol. viii., p. 158.

vene about whose position some doubt may naturally be felt. These pieces, which draw a line between two coinages, shall be kept separate. Under any circumstances, even were I convinced to whose reign they rightly belonged, I would still detach them from the main body and press them into my service, in order clearly to define where one coinage commences, where another ends. Particularly in these reigns do the intermediate or transitional pieces force the other varieties into a position from whence they cannot extricate themselves; the substantial assistance they likewise afford in certain parts of my argument will be seen from time to time as I proceed.

As a specimen of their value I will give an instance. A half-groat will be noticed amongst the coins to be described as belonging to Henry IV. or Henry V. (Pl. III. No. 11). The reverse of this coin was struck from a die originally used by Henry IV., the Roman N being in London, and no mark appearing after POSVI. The obverse, however, was certainly not struck with one of Henry IV.'s dies; but with one intended for and first used by Henry V., the broken annulet ²—*a mark used exclusively by this king*—being at one side of the crown. This coin, which exhibits the peculiarities of the coinages of two reigns, must have been one of the very first issued by Henry V., a reverse die, belonging to his father, having hastily been joined to the new obverse in order to com-

² This distinctive mark might at first sight be taken for the usual annulet—has apparently been taken for it. The break, or open space, varies in its position. The origin of the broken annulet, and its adoption by Henry V., will be shown in the pages to follow. In all probability "broken annulet" is the wrong term to apply to the mark. For want of a better I use it, as did Mr. Longstaffe.

plete a coin for immediate circulation.³ Such makeshifts were not unusual with the coinages of the middle ages. We have numerous instances in the reign of Edward IV., some of whose coins with Bristol, Coventry, and York obverses have London reverses; a groat with a Bristol obverse has a Coventry reverse, and very probably York and Coventry reverses were attached to London obverses, as the usual letter on the king's breast is sometimes wanting. The most interesting coinage of the English series, the coinage of Charles I., also affords proof that similar practices were, at a pinch, very frequently resorted to.

In order further to corroborate the evidence supplied by the interesting half-groat in question, and to establish conclusively its position in this most obscure period of the English coinage, I beg now to call attention to the coin succeeding it in my list (Pl. III. No. 12). Here is another half-groat whose obverse is from the *same die* as the one just described; but a fresh reverse is now introduced. This reverse, which reads π DIVTORÆ, and is without a mint-mark, is of a transitional character—an extremely rare instance of Henry V.'s early money, on which the usual quatrefoil after POSVI is wanting. A quatrefoil after POSVI may be said to be identified with the early groats and half-groats of Henry V. It is a fact worthy of notice that, during the reign of this king a distinctive mark was placed after POSVI—first the quatrefoil, then the annulet. And it will be seen from the list I give of Henry VI.'s coins, that he also followed his father's example during the early part of his reign. This

³ For a drawing and description of ancient coining irons, see Num. Chron., vol. vii., p. 18.

monarch, however, after a time, adopted distinctions of far greater significance, and, although a mark after POSVI was continued irregularly for years afterwards, no particular importance can be attached to its position there.

In a paper "On some Unpublished Silver Coins of Edward IV.,"⁴ I gave it as my opinion that, so far as pennies, halfpennies, and farthings are concerned, the character of the letter N in London is of no importance as an arranger, and that little or no assistance can be expected from it in regulating systematically the small coins of the Henries. This opinion will be verified⁵ in the pages to follow, my collection of small money having lately been considerably augmented by a supply from the Highbury find, which find fell into my hands in a round-about manner, after the authorities at the British Museum had selected such specimens as were required for the national collection. Not one Calais coin, not one coin of Henry VI. did I find amongst some hundreds which I carefully examined. The bulk of the coins belonged to an early issue of Henry V. There were, however, many curious and rare pieces struck in the reigns of Richard II.

⁴ Num. Chron., n.s., vol. x., p. 40.

⁵ A knowledge of the coinage of Edward III. and Richard II. does not lead us to expect that Henry IV. would make a point of using the Roman N on his small money—rather the opposite is the case. My cabinet contains 11 pennies and 11 halfpennies of Edward III.—4 pennies, and every one of the halfpennies, have the old English N in London. I have 4 pennies and 13 half-pennies of Richard II.—1 penny and 12 halfpennies have the old English N. As not two of these coins are from the same die, and were collected, either for rarity of type or beauty of preservation, it may be assumed that a halfpenny of Edward III. or Richard II., with the Roman N in London, is a curiosity. Mr. Longstaffe has a very rare half-groat of Edward III., which deserves mention. It has the old English N in London, and the tressure surrounding the king's bust has only seven arches.

and Henry IV. I observed also a few coins of Edward III., and one or two of those which are alleged to have been issued by Edward I.

The Highbury find, which consisted almost entirely of halfpennies and pennies, was concealed in Henry V.'s reign, during the period the broken annulet and quatrefoil were used as distinguishing marks, and before the introduction of the common annulet money. The hoard of groats discovered at Stamford in October, 1866, was buried not earlier than the latter part of the year 1464, when a reduction took place in the weight of the coinage. From what I have seen of the Stamford coins, I should say that the date of their deposit was very soon after 1464. I take this view because the light money of Edward IV. is represented by only a few specimens. This opinion, however, must be taken with some allowance, as only part of the coins have come under my notice.⁶

⁶ Mr. Justin Simpson, of Stamford, appears to have been the first Numismatist who examined the coins. He states that they were discovered on the morning of the 22nd of October, 1866, by a labourer, named Christian, whilst employed in making a drain in the rear of the east end of St. George's Church, Stamford. The number of coins collected by the authorities for the Crown amounted to 2,940, but the number originally found exceeded 3,000, and weighed 24 lbs. 8 oz. The entire find, I believe, consisted of groats. Amongst them Mr. Simpson noticed a few of Edward III., struck at London and York, much worn and clipped, and two, rather poor, of Richard II., but not one of Henry IV.—many Calais of Henry V., but comparatively few of London—a very large quantity of Henry VI.'s Calais money, also some of his London money, and fine specimens of Edward IV.'s heavy coinage. Mr. Simpson noticed only one specimen of the light coinage of Edward IV., but two have lately passed through my hands. Both have the letter R in the legend shaped like B; one has a masele after QIVITVS. These coins confirm the opinion I offered in my last paper. The urn in which the coins were found was formed

In connection with the classification of the coinages of Henry IV., V., and VI., the Stamford and Highbury finds are of very great importance. Both finds tend in every way to strengthen my views as to the arrangement of the entire series. Pennies of York and pennies of Durham were intermingled with Highbury coins, thereby confirming the opinion I had previously expressed that Henry V. did coin money at York. Indeed, the false position the York money holds is one of two causes, to which may in great measure be traced the obscurity, until recently surrounding the coinages of Henry V. and VI. The first of these causes is the anomalous position the Calais money holds. Our great authority, the late Mr. Hawkins, makes no allusion whatever to this mint in his "Silver Coins of England," nevertheless there can be no doubt but that the principal object of the establishment of the Calais mint ⁷

of the ordinary coarse brown or red clay, and was about eight inches in height. It was broken into small fragments by the pickaxe of the workman.

⁷ After the town of Calais was surrendered to Edward III., on the 3rd of August, 1347, it was thought expedient to establish an English colony there, as "the king meant to people the town only with Englishmen, for the better and more sure defence of the same." He also established a mint, and commanded that the white money to be made there should be such as was coined in England."—Ruding, vol. i., 224, and vol. ii., 254.

"Calais was so identified with the kingdom of England that Henry V.'s residence there was no exception to the rule."—(See "Henry of Monmouth," by J. Endell Tyler, B.D., vol. i. 295.)

In John Brumell's sale catalogue will be found this remark: "Calais was maintained by our sovereigns 210 years, but at an expense equal to one-fifth of the revenue of the whole kingdom; it is little known that this town sent two members to the English House of Commons." Calais was retaken from the English in 1558.

was to supply money for circulation in this country; and it therefore follows that the coins must be included with the English series, which they closely resemble, not with the Anglo-Gallic series, from which they entirely differ. Otherwise, how is it to be accounted for that coins struck at Calais are common in comparison with those issued from the English mints? How is it, when a hoard is discovered in this country, known from the condition of the coins to have been concealed while the Calais mint was in operation, that the quantity of Calais money found should always greatly predominate over the English? ⁸ How is it, if the coins were not intended for general currency in England, that the type, the marks, the weight and purity of metal ⁹ of the London and Calais money are alike? ¹⁰ Why should the Calais money only differ from the rest of the Anglo-Gallic series? Why should numismatic records, in alluding to the English mints, make a point of including that of Calais? Why were both coinages issued under the same authority? ¹¹ And how can

⁸ From the very imperfect mint accounts of the quantity of bullion coined in the early part of Henry VI.'s reign, we might almost expect to find the proportion of Calais money much greater than it is.

⁹ Item: "That as the money of gold and silver (of Henry V.) that shall be made in the Tower of London and Calais, or elsewhere within the realm of England, by royal authority, shall be made of as good alloy and just weight as it is at present made in the Tower of London."—Ruding, vol. i., 265.

¹⁰ Item: "That the king's mint be coined and made at Calais in the manner that it is made and governed at the Tower of London."—Ruding, vol. i., 265.

¹¹ Early in the reign of Henry V., Lodowick or Lowys John, was appointed master and worker of the mints of London and Calais. Bartholomew Goldbeter occupied the same position from the 9th Henry V. till the 1—11th Henry VI. In 1431, the office was granted to William Russe.—Ruding, vol. i., 33 and 256; and vol. ii. 195.

the questions I now ask be satisfactorily answered by those who take the opposite view of the question?

Ducarel and Hawkins include the Calais money with the Anglo-Gallic series; and quite out of place the coins look in the position assigned them. General Ainslie, on the contrary, makes no allusion to the Calais mint in his work on the same subject. The truth is, there can be little doubt but that bullion was sent to Calais on purpose to be coined into money for the use of this country. This statement may appear strange; but it is nevertheless a fact that even in Edward IV.'s time, it was the intention of the king again to work the Calais mint, and it was proposed, says Ruding, "that plate and bullion should be carried into the mint, there to be coined, and when coined should be brought into England within three months." It is supposed, however, that this intention was never carried into execution, as no Calais coins of Edward IV. are known, so that probably the mint was not worked after the reign of Henry VI.

I now come to the second, perhaps the principal cause of the difficulty attending the appropriation of the money of Henry IV., V., and VI. I allude to the York mint. Documentary evidence makes no allusion to a mint having been established in that city, either in Henry IV.'s or in Henry V.'s time, and up to the date of the publication of Hawkins's "Silver Coins" it seems to have been taken for granted that of the three Henries, Henry VI. alone struck money at York. This wholesale appropriation of the York money to one king was due to the very elastic interpretation placed on a certain record, whereby we are informed that "in the first year of Henry VI., Goldbeter was authorised to coin money at York and Bristol, in addition to London and Calais, which alone were particularized in

the indenture of the ninth of Henry V.¹² "Therefore," says Ruding, "it should seem that the coins of Henry struck at Bristol and York do not belong to either the IVth. or Vth of that name." Now Ruding arrives at this opinion, although he more than once warns his readers to beware of the "imperfect," "the necessarily incomplete" state of much of the documentary evidence he produces. No exception seems to have been taken to the rule here laid down by Ruding, until Hawkins published a York penny (No. 337), which from its "weight and workmanship" compelled him "to modify this opinion in regard to Henry IV." With the exception of this solitary coin, Hawkins follows, without remark, in the footsteps of his predecessors, and ascribes every other coin struck at York to Henry VI. Nevertheless, by the production of the penny of Henry IV., the arbitrary conclusion arrived at that, of the three Henries, Henry VI. alone coined money at York, was considerably weakened, and it seems strange to me that, after the falseness of the theory was exposed when applied to the coinage of Henry IV., faith in its trustworthiness, when applied to money of Henry V., should still remain unshaken. The theory being proved wrong in one instance, could scarcely be expected with certainty to hold good in the other. And looking at all surrounding circumstances in a practical manner, it must be admitted that numismatic writers have evidently erred in judgment when they argued that, because authority was given by one king to coin money at York, it necessarily followed no coins were struck in that city by his two predecessors. Besides, it must be remembered that the indenture in question refers merely

¹² Ruding, vol. ii., 269.

to the ninth year of Henry V. Why, I ask, should it be taken for granted that indentures of earlier dates never existed? Such indentures might have existed, the probability is they did exist, but are now missing or destroyed, as seems to have been the fate—cases shall presently be instanced—of not a few records having reference to this period of the English coinage. And, moreover, we must not altogether lose sight of the fact that, under the indenture in question authority was given to coin money at Bristol as well as at York, yet not a single Bristol coin weighing at the rate of 15 grs. to the penny can be produced in evidence to show that the authority given was ever acted upon; neither can I point to a York coin that I conceive to have been struck at a very early period of Henry VI.'s reign, unless, as Mr. Longstaffe suggests, the son used the father's dies. Is it therefore to be wondered at, that those who deny to Henry V. a certain portion of the York money, find themselves unable, after carefully examining the coins, to give him any money at all? Coins can never be made subservient to documentary evidence, and at the proper time I will bring them forward as the only sure witnesses on numismatic subjects, to establish first of all the fact that Henry IV. used various dies at York, both before and after his thirteenth year, and it is manifest, therefore, that the coin engraved by Hawkins cannot be looked upon in the light of an extraordinary, much less an exceptional piece. And, finally; it will be noticed on reference to my list of Henry V.'s coins, that I assign to this king various pieces struck at York, and some pennies amongst the hoard discovered at Highbury, marked with the broken annulet, justify me in stating that he worked that mint soon after he succeeded to the throne.

As for numismatic records having reference to the operations of the mints during the reigns of Henry IV. and V., the more I study them, the less disposed I feel to regard their authority with any degree of confidence; indeed, when unsupported by coins, it is as well to treat those incomplete statements as something requiring further confirmation. Assist us they may, guide us they cannot. My object, let it be understood, is not to deny the authenticity of such evidence so far as it goes, nor do I wish to detract from its just value as an authority; but I must say that so obviously incomplete is its testimony in many cases that, at any rate, no negative argument can be founded on it with safety.

As the position I shall maintain in respect to the classification of the York coins of the three Henries, differs materially from that taken up by Ruding, Hawkins, and others, it is requisite in the first instance that I should completely destroy the value of the evidence on which alone their arguments are grounded. Ruding grounds his argument simply on the hypothesis that because authority was given in Henry VI.'s time to coin at York, it naturally followed no like authority was given during the reigns of his two predecessors. He assumes that because the needful evidence is not forthcoming, it never existed. He argues on the assumption that numismatic records of the period are complete. Hawkins, after having considerably damaged Ruding's position by the publication of the York penny of Henry IV., nevertheless follows him in his argument so far as the coins of Henry V. are concerned. The reasoning adopted by Ruding and Hawkins looks well enough at first sight—some surface arguments do look well enough at first sight—but will not bear closer inspection. Passing over the imperfect

state of the documentary evidence of the period, little heed seems to have been taken by Numismatists of the important fact that York, after London, was one of the most, if not the most, prolific mint in this country, and that coins were struck there without intermission from the time of Henry III. (I might, admitting part of the short-cross money to have been coined by Richard I. and John, say from the time of William the Conqueror) to that of Richard II.; and, again, if we except Edward V., without intermission from the reign of Henry VI. down to that of Edward VI., leaving the mint idle during only the reigns of Henry IV. and V., or, according to Hawkins, during the reign of Henry V. alone. Coins now show clearly enough the incompleteness of documentary evidence. They prove beyond question that the York mint was at work during the reigns of Henry III., Edward I., Edward II., Edward III., and Richard II., although numismatic records are almost silent on the subject. It will not, however, be disputed that the coins in themselves are sufficient proof, without the extraneous aid of documentary evidence. Records relating to the York mint again fail us for some time after the period of Henry VI.; but, in spite of this vacuum, it is well known that coins were struck in that city by Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII. Thus we have coins actually struck at York by Henry III., Edward I., II., and III., by Richard II., Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., although—if I except Edward I. and III.—I look in vain for the authority sanctioning their issue. If therefore Henry IV. and V. did coin money at York, there is nothing to surprise us if records are not now extant to substantiate the fact. The value of documentary evidence in all that relates to the proceedings of the York mint being thus

rendered nugatory, the coins claim to speak for themselves without further let or hinderance.

Mr. Longstaffe's classification¹³ of the London and Calais groats will be found in all respects to agree with mine. Even as to the position of the York groat (Hawkins, No. 336) he so far modifies his previous opinion as to admit that if coined by Henry VI., one of his father's dies was probably used.

In order to make my list of the silver coins issued during the reigns of the Henries fairly complete, I will include with my own many published varieties. When no remark follows a description of a coin, the coin may be assumed to be in my cabinet; when a coin is already published and also in my cabinet, the fact I will endeavour to state; when I rely entirely for my information on other writers, my authority will be quoted.

HENRY IV.

1399—1413.

HENRY IV., surnamed of Bolingbroke, the first king of the house of Lancaster, ascended the throne on the 30th September, 1399. During a reign of thirteen years, five months, and twenty-one days, he issued two distinct coinages. Up to his thirteenth year his coins weighed at the rate of 18 grs. to the penny; afterwards the proportion was reduced to 15 grs. As both issues bear a very striking resemblance to the money of his predecessors Edward III. and Richard II., and as Henry V., on his ascension to the throne, adopted an entirely new model for his coinage, no difficulty can well be experienced in

¹³ Num. Chron., n.s., vol. ix.

distinguishing the coins of the fourth from those of the fifth Henry. Indeed their coins differ as much in type as do those issued by Edward III. and Edward IV. With so marked a difference to guide us, it would almost seem superfluous to enter further into details by pointing out lesser peculiarities, were it not necessary that a careful investigation, in the first place of Henry IV.'s money, is essential in order to arrive at a simple and, in my firm opinion, the only possible solution of the entire question.

The mint-mark on the coins of Henry IV. is a cross patee. His other marks are few, the *slipped trefoil* being the most conspicuous. On the groats of his second coinage this mark constantly occurs, both after POSVI. and on the king's breast. Sometimes, though rarely, it is also to be found after the legend on the obverse. I have a groat on which the slipped trefoil is seen at all three places. Henry IV. likewise in a few rare instances used the annulet and the mullet. Not one of these marks is mentioned amongst the badges¹⁴ assigned to him in works on heraldry. But, in reality, this can in no way astonish us, as the same may be said with equal truth of the coinages of Edward III. and Richard II., in whose reigns heraldic devices had arrived at a high pitch of ornamental excellence, and on whose coins we look in vain for distinctive marks we might naturally expect to find. The great seal of Henry IV., being simply altered from one used by Richard II., affords no assistance.

Mr. Evans, who has lately visited Canterbury, tells me

¹⁴ The badges of Henry IV. are the monogram SS, a crescent, a fox's tail, a stock or stump of a tree, an ermine or gennet, a crowned eagle, a crowned panther, an ostrich feather, an eagle displayed, a columbine flower, the Lancastrian red rose, and the white swan of the De Bohuns.

that he sees nothing of numismatic importance about the ornamentation of Henry IV.'s tomb.

HEAVY COINAGE OF HENRY IV.

HEAVY LONDON GROAT?

"So exceedingly rare as to be almost unique." Thus I wrote when I last alluded to this coin. Although engraved by Snelling, Ruding, and Withy, and Ryall, although referred to by Hawkins, the existence of a genuine specimen is very uncertain. Ruding, *Sup.* 1, 40 is stated to have belonged to Willet, whose sale catalogue is dated 15th March, 1827. Here is the description given of the heavy groat and half-groat :—

"Henry IV., heavy groat, with Roman N, weight 66 grains (see Snelling, *Pl.* 11, No. 25), very fine and extremely rare."

"Henry IV., heavy half-groat, with Roman N, weight 33 grains, unique and unpublished."

It so happens I have one of Willet's catalogues marked by the late Mr. Till. Against the groat he writes—"a false coin." What further convinces me the coin was false is that Mr. Sotheby failed in obtaining a bid for it separately, and then bracketing it with the half-groat, sold the two lots for two guineas. The same half-groat reappears in 1859 at Martin's sale, accompanied again by a heavy groat. Of the latter coin the cataloguer remarks—"There is something unpleasant in the style of work on the obverse, and that on the reverse reminds one of a groat of Edward III." Something very unpleasant about the coin there must have been, as it realised only 3*s.* 6*d.*, whereas the half-groat brought £4 5*s.* Martin's half-groat was Willet's; it is possible Martin's groat was Willet's also; both coins weighed 66 grs., and in other respects seem to be alike.

HEAVY LONDON HALF-GROAT.

✠ ḥƎNRICꝰ DIꝰ GRÆ × RÆX × ANGL Ꝣ · F.

Similar bust as on the half-groats of Richard II. and Edward III.

✠ POSVI DEVM ΠDIVTORÆM × MÆV.

QIVITVS LONDON.

This coin has passed through the sales of Willet and Martin, and, according to their catalogues, weighed 33 grs. It is engraved in Hawkins, No. 323, and is said to be the only one known.

HEAVY LONDON PENNIES (extra rare).

ḥƎNRIC × Dꝰ G ꝰ RÆX ꝰ ANGL × F.

Type of Edward III. and Richard II.

QIVITVS LONDON.

1. m.m. cross patee, a very faintly struck mullet with long pointed rays on the centre of the king's breast. Weight $17\frac{3}{4}$ grs. The heavy penny of Henry IV. had not been seen by Hawkins. Although my specimen, which is from the Highbury find, is not worn by circulation, the features of the king are almost obliterated by an unlucky blow. However, the lettering, the m.m., the arrangement of the hair, to say nothing of the weight, clearly prove it to be a coin of Henry IV.
2. In Whitbourn's sale catalogue (Lot 181) is another penny stated to belong to Henry IV. It weighed $16\frac{1}{2}$ grs. It escaped my notice.

HEAVY YORK PENNIES (very rare).

ḥƎNRIC × RÆX × ANGL × Ꝣ × FRÆNC or FRÆNCIÆ.

Type of Edward III. and Richard II.

QIVITVS EBORACI.

Open quatrefoil in centre of cross.

1. m.m. cross patee, reads FRÆNC. Weights $16\frac{3}{4}$ and 17 grs.; also Hawkins, No. 337. Weight $16\frac{6}{10}$ grs.
2. Reads FRÆNCIÆ, $17\frac{1}{2}$, $16\frac{3}{4}$, and $15\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

HEAVY LONDON HALFPENNIES.

$\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \text{N}\text{NGL}, \text{N}\text{NGLI}$ or $\text{N}\text{NGLI}\epsilon$ or
 $\eta\epsilon\text{NRICVS} \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \text{N}\text{NGL}.$

$\text{CIVITAS LONDON}.$

Pellets sometimes joined, sometimes not joined, when united, not trefoil-wise.

1. m.m. cross patee, $\eta\epsilon\text{NRICVS} \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \text{N}\text{NGL}.$ Weights 9 and $7\frac{3}{4}$ grs.; type as Hawkins, No, 324. Some halfpennies of Richard II. are of this type.
2. Similar legend, the bust of the king smaller. Weights $11\frac{1}{2}$, $9\frac{1}{2}$, $8\frac{1}{2}$, and 8 grs.
3. Similar legend, head of king unusually large, lower part of bust detached from inner circle. Weights 10 and 8 grs.
4. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \text{N}\text{NGLI},$ king's head very large, lower part of bust attached to inner circle. Weights $11\frac{1}{4}$ and $10\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
5. Lower part of bust passes through inner circle. Weights $9\frac{3}{4}$ and $9\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
6. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \text{N}\text{NGLI}\epsilon,$ king's head also very large, lower part of bust detached from inner circle. Weights, $10\frac{3}{4}$, 10, and 9 grs.
7. Same legend, smaller bust, lower part of which is not joined to inner circle. Weights $9\frac{3}{4}$ and $7\frac{1}{4}$ grs. (Pl. III., No. 5).
8. Small bust, same legend, many trifling varieties. Weights ranging from $7\frac{3}{4}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The type of the following halfpence is altogether new. The workmanship is unusually good for the period.

9. $\eta\epsilon\text{N} . . \text{D} . \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \text{N}\text{NGLI}\epsilon,$ three-quarter face portrait of the king. Weight 10 grs.
10. m.m. the usual cross patee, $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \text{N}\text{NGL}.$ Weights $11\frac{1}{4}$, 10, 10, $9\frac{1}{2}$, and 8 grs. All slightly different in details. (Pl. III., No. 6.)

11. Reads $\pi\Omega\Gamma\text{LI}$. Weight $9\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

12. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \pi\Omega\Gamma\text{L}$, an annulet at each side of the king's neck, otherwise as No. 10. (Pl. III., No. 7.)

The halfpence of Henry IV. now described are, with perhaps one or two exceptions, unpublished. All are from the Highbury find; their condition is as perfect as when issued from the mint. I cannot account for the indifference shown as to the circulating value of the coins. The number of types (hardly two coins being alike) also puzzles me. It is not impossible they might have been intended for trial or pattern pieces. Coins might possibly have been collected then as they are now. One fact I can vouch for, and that is, the Highbury hoard disclosed coins struck in the reigns of Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., all in a like fine state of preservation.

LIGHT COINAGE.

LONDON GROATS (rare).

♣ $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC} \times \text{DI}$ or $\text{DEI} \times \text{GR}\pi \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \pi\Omega\Gamma\text{LI}\epsilon \times \text{S} \times$
FR $\pi\Omega\Gamma$.

Portrait continues to resemble that of Richard II.

♣ POSVI ♣ $\text{D}\epsilon\text{VM} \times \pi\text{DIVTOR}\epsilon\text{M} \times \text{M}\epsilon\text{VM}$.
CIVITAS LONDON or LONDON.

1. m.m. cross patee, a slipped trefoil on the king's breast and after POSVI, a pellet at the left side and over the crown (pellets similarly placed are discovered on certain groats of Edward III. and Richard II.), the tressure consists of nine arches (always the case with English groats) all fleured, excepting the one on the breast, which is ornamented with the slipped trefoil; the Roman N in London. Hawkins, 325.

Obv. as No. 1; rev. old English R in London. Hawkins, p. 104.

3. Slipped trefoil on breast and after POSVI, pellets as No. 1, but different bust, Roman N in London. Weight 57 grs. (Pl. III., No. 1.) British Museum.
4. Slipped trefoil after FR Λ NC only, old English N in London. (Mr. Pownall, N.C. viii. 343.)
5. Slipped trefoil on breast, after FR Λ NC and after POSVI, Roman N in London, pellet at left of crown.
6. Pellet at each side of crown, Roman N in London. Weight $54\frac{1}{2}$ grs. This coin, described as "being without the French title," appears, from a catalogue dated May 27, 1850, to have been bought by Mr. Shepherd for £3 10s. Ruding, iv. 8, is also without the French title; but the engraving strikes me as being very unsatisfactory. The engravings in Ruding of the coins of Henry IV., V., and VI., do not leave the right impression on the mind, and I do not therefore refer to them; take as an example Sup. pl. ii.

LIGHT LONDON HALF-GROAT.

h ϵ NRIC \times DEI \times GR Λ R ϵ X \times Λ NGL \times \leq F'.

POSVI \times DEV Λ DIVTOR ϵ M . M.

CIVITAS LONDON.

1. m.m. cross patee on obv. and rev., portrait of Edward III., pellet at each side of crown, nine arches to the tressure, eight being fleured; apparently a slipped trefoil upside down after Λ DIVT. The coin is much rubbed, but a slipped trefoil is just traceable on the breast. Weight 27 grs. This coin, which is presumed to be unique, was from Lindsay's sale. It is now in the possession of Mr. Robinson. To Mr. Longstaffe I am indebted for the loan of it. See Pl. III., No. 2.

LIGHT LONDON PENNIES.

h ϵ NRIC . D or DI G or GR Λ R ϵ X Λ NGL, Λ NGLI ϵ or
 Λ NGL \times F or h ϵ NRIC R ϵ X Λ NGLI ϵ .

Hair arranged as on the coins of Edward III. and Richard II.

CIVITAS LONDON or LONDON.

1. m.m. cross patee, $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}\ \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\epsilon$, annulet at left, pellet at right of crown, slipped trefoil (?) before $\text{C}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S}$, Roman N in London. Hawkins, No. 327.
2. $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}\ \text{D}\times\text{G}\times\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}\times\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\times\text{F}$ (?), a faintly struck mullet with long pointed rays on centre of breast. Old English N in London. Weight 14 grs. Resembles somewhat Hawkins No. 326. From the Highbury find.
3. Reads $\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\epsilon$. This coin is very poor.
4. $\text{D}\text{I}\ \text{G}\text{R}\text{A}\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}\ \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{—}\text{L}\text{O}\text{N}\text{D}\text{O}\text{N}$, trefoil (?) on breast, Hawkins, 326; the description of this coin does not quite agree with the plate.

LIGHT DURHAM PENNIES.

1. m.m. cross patee, $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{V}\text{S}\times\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}\ \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\epsilon$, slipped trefoil on breast, type of Edward III. $\times\ \text{C}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S}\ \text{D}\text{V}\text{N}\text{O}\text{L}\text{M}$. Weight 13 grs. (Pl. III., No. 3.) Mr. Longstaffe. Very rare.
2. Similar, but reads $\text{D}\text{V}\text{N}\text{V}\text{I}\text{C}$. Weight $10\frac{1}{2}$ grs. British Museum. Very rare.

LIGHT YORK PENNIES.

1. m.m. cross patee, $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}\times\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\epsilon$, type of Edward III., an annulet on the breast and before $\text{C}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}$, two annulets before $\text{A}\text{B}\text{O}\text{R}\text{T}\text{A}\text{C}\text{I}$. Weight $14\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (Pl. III., No. 4.) Very rare.
2. Similar, but of much coarser work. Weight $13\frac{1}{2}$ grs. From the Highbury find. Very rare.

LIGHT LONDON HALFPENNIES.

The weights alone—and I have stated I have but little faith in the weights—induce me to give the following halfpence to the light coinage of Henry IV. The types do not vary from the heavy money. The coins were found at Highbury.

1. m.m. cross patee, $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}\ \text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\epsilon$, king's bust rather large. Weights $7\frac{1}{2}$ and $6\frac{3}{4}$ grs.
2. Small bust. Weights $7\frac{1}{2}$, 7, and 5 grs.

FARTHING.

1. m.m. cross, HENRIC REX ANGL, large head (without neck or shoulders) within a dotted circle, LOIDOI. Weight $3\frac{3}{4}$ grs. From the Highbury find. This coin is unique. (Pl. III., No. 8.) A halfpenny of Edward III., also from the Highbury find, is exactly of the same type.

HENRY IV. OR V.

A line must be drawn somewhere. It is very certain there must have been an end to one coinage, a beginning to another. Intermediate or transitional coins now come to our assistance, and show plainly enough where the line is to be drawn between the coinages of Henry IV. and V. They divide these coinages as completely as a plough separates the earth.

As a rule, intermediate coins were, in my opinion, struck soon after a king's accession to the throne, and before a new type for the coinage had fully been decided on. We have several instances in the English coinage to prove that such was the case. Henry VIII. at first used his father's dies, the VII. in the legend being simply converted into VIII. The early coinage of Charles I. is another instance. When, on the contrary, any marked improvements were made in the national coinage, the sovereign had for some time been seated on the throne;¹⁵ witness the coins of Henry VII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, Charles I., and George III. But perhaps the most striking instance of a stride in the right direction is to be found in

¹⁵ Queen Victoria's reign is certainly an extraordinary exception to this rule; the reverse of the sovereign just issued being actually struck with one of George IV.'s old dies. The ghost of Pistrucci would surely feel astonished at seeing his initials on Victoria's money.

the admirable coinage of Oliver Cromwell. Like the man, we find some character about his coins.

Now follows a list of intermediate coins, which, for the sake of argument and for simplicity of arrangement, I allow to fall into place under the heading of Henry IV. or V., although, if not otherwise stated, I wish it to be understood that in my opinion they *belong to Henry V.*, being, in a word, the first money issued in his reign before a fixed type had been decided on.

HENRY IV. OR V.

LONDON GROATS.

1. m.m. plain cross, $\text{ANGLIA} \begin{smallmatrix} \times & \times \\ \times & \times \end{smallmatrix} \text{FRANC} \begin{smallmatrix} \times & \times \\ \times & \times \end{smallmatrix}$, *quatrefoil* after HENRIC , a swelling the shape of an egg¹⁶ on the neck, the arches of the tressure all fleured; rev. ADIVTOR , the mark after POSVI blundered, two crosses after DEVN and LONDON . Portrait, excepting in the arrangement of the hair, similar to that of Henry IV. I have little hesitation in assigning this rare coin to a very early issue of Henry V. (Pl. III., No. 9.) The arrangement of the hair, the *quatrefoil*, the rev. legend, and type show its position in the series.
2. Very similar, but no *quatrefoil* after HENRIC , and the arches of the tressure above the crown are not fleured, a very small *trefoil* or *quatrefoil* before DEVN , two crosses after TTS and DON . Mr. Longstaffe.
3. FRAN ', mullet on centre of breast, arches of tressure above crown not fleured, portrait like Nos. 1 and 2; rev. large *quatrefoil* after POSVI , and two crosses after TTS and DON . This coin is also very rare. It is an early specimen of Henry V.'s coinage (Pl. III., No. 10).
4. m.m. cross pierced, FRAN , *quatrefoil* after HENRIC and after POSVI . Somewhat similar to No. 1, and without the mullet on breast. (Very rare.)

¹⁶ This swelling on the neck must not be confused with the pine cone on Henry VI.'s coinage.

LONDON HALF-GROATS.

1. m.m. obv., cross pierced; rev., cross patee, $\text{ANGLIA} \times \text{F}$; the usual early bust of Henry V. within a tressure of twelve arches, a broken annulet—now for the first time introduced—at the left side of the crown; the neck, on which is the egg-shaped swelling, is very long; rev., from a die of Henry IV., reads $\text{ADIVTOR} \times \text{M} \times \text{V}$, Roman N in London, no mark after POSVI. Weight $26\frac{1}{4}$ grs. Probably unique. (Pl. III., No. 11.) This important coin is particularly referred to in the opening statement. *Coins struck with dies prepared for Henry V. and VI. read ADIVTOR*; *coins issued by Edward III. (a few half-groats excepted), Richard II., and Henry IV. read ADIVTOR*.
2. obv., from the same die as No. 1; no m.m. on rev., old English N in London. $\text{POSVI} \times \text{D} \times \text{V} \times \text{ADIVTOR} \times \text{M} \times \text{V}$ (Pl. III., No. 12). Mr. Longstaffe. Very rare.
3. m.m. cross pierced obv. only, $\text{ANGLIA} \times \text{F}$, C at left of crown, mullet on centre of breast, extremely long neck exhibiting conspicuously the egg-shaped lump, eleven arches to the tressure, two above crown and one on breast not fleured. Quatrefoil after POSVI, reads $\text{ADIVTOR} \text{M} \text{V}$. This is the only half-groat belonging to Henry V. that has come under my notice reading $\text{M} \text{V}$. Weight $29\frac{1}{2}$ grs (Pl. IV., No. 1). Very rare.
4. m.m. cross on obv. and rev., $\text{ANGLIA} \times \text{F}$, C at left of crown, mullet on centre of breast, neck not unusually long, twelve arches to the tressure, two on breast not fleured. Quatrefoil after POSVI, reads $\text{ADIVTOR} \text{M} \text{V}$. Weight 28 grs. This is another exceptional coin. It is the only half-groat I have seen struck by Henry V. with the m.m. on both sides. It is an early and very rare specimen of his coinage. (Pl. IV., No. 2.)

LONDON PENNIES.

1. m.m. cross, $\text{HENRIC} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGLIA}$, Henry IV.'s head, annulet at left, mullet at right of crown, quatrefoil on breast, old English N in London. (Very

rare.) In Mr. Longstaffe's collection. The quatrefoil on the breast alone deterred me from at once giving this coin to Henry IV. However, I cannot assign it to Henry V.

2. m.m. cross pierced, DI GRÆ REX ANGL & F, Henry V.'s head, mullet left, three pellets (not united) right of crown. Mr. Longstaffe.
3. m.m. plain cross, ANGL & FRAN, star at left, O at right of crown, egg-shaped lump on neck, two crosses after TTS and DON. Weight $14\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
4. m.m. cross pierced. In other respects similar to the above. Nos. 3 and 4 are from the Highbury find, and, having the broken annulet, belong to Henry V. The star (of six points) has not, I think, before been noticed on the money of Henry IV., V., or VI.

LONDON HALFPENNIES.

1. m.m. plain cross, hENRIC x REX x ANGL, large mullet at right, pellet at left of crown. LONDON. Weight $7\frac{3}{4}$ grs.
2. Very similar in type, but an annulet at each side of the face, portrait as on some uncommon halfpence of Richard II.; rev., usual type of Henry V., pellets trefoil-wise. Weights $7\frac{1}{2}$, $7\frac{1}{2}$, and $7\frac{1}{4}$ grs.
3. No peculiar marks, pellets on rev. not joined. Weight, $9\frac{3}{4}$ grs.
4. No peculiar marks, pellets trefoil-wise, the shoulders of the king occupy considerably more space than usual. Weights $7\frac{3}{4}$ and $6\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

With the exception of No. 1, which appears to fall into place with the penny of Henry IV., Hawkins, No. 326, it is not unlikely that the above halfpence were issued at a very early period of Henry V.'s reign. Nos. 1, 2, and 4 are from the Highbury find. No. 3 was found in the Thames. All are uncommon.

HENRY V.

1413—1422.

Henry of Monmouth succeeded his father on the 21st of March, 1412—3, and apparently lost no time in making the necessary arrangements for the issue of a new coinage. After one or two essays, as shown in the coins last described, a type was approved of, which, although a complete change, was certainly not an improvement on the preceding coinage. Nothing can well be more spiritless in style, or coarser in workmanship, than the money eventually decided on for general circulation. The model chosen (I allude particularly to the groats) to represent the bust of the young and warlike Henry V. can lay little or no claim to any idea of portraiture. It is impossible to believe that this king looked the picture of old age and decay. Nevertheless, such is the image we have of him on his coins. This emaciated-looking portrait—which is very fairly rendered in vol. viii., Pl. VI., of this Chronicle—seems to have been held in peculiar estimation, as little or no alteration was made in its ugliness during the lifetime of the king it was supposed to represent; on the contrary, much care appears to have been taken to preserve its peculiarities intact. The change made in the arrangement of the hair is, of itself, a sure guide for separating the coins of Henry V. from those struck by his father.¹⁷ I will not dwell in detail on the peculiarities

¹⁷ In a communication of mine published in vol. ix., N.S., of this Chronicle, I stated that I had "some slight doubt as to whether the alteration of the hair on coins first took place in the reign of Henry V." Two halfpennies, weighing respectively 9 and 9½ grs. caused me to hesitate. The find of coins at Highbury satisfy me that no argument can be founded on the weights of these small pieces struck by Henry IV. and V. See description of coins.

of portraiture, but at once proceed to what is of more importance—the marks by which the coins of Henry V. may be known. They are but four in number. His early coinage, or, in other words, the coinage preceding the great annulet coinage, is recognised by the distinguishing marks of the *quatrefoil*, the *broken annulet*, and the *mullet*. These three marks were adopted very early in his reign, and appeared on his coins at the same, or very nearly the same, time. Singular to say, the broken annulet never appears on the groats, although it is very rarely wanting on the half-groats and smaller pieces. The quatrefoil invariably¹⁸ takes its place after POSVI; the broken annulet is found at one or both sides of the king's crown,¹⁹ though only at both sides on the half-pennies; whilst the mullet secures a position—nearly always on the left side—on the king's breast, both on the groats and half-groats. This mark is also frequently seen on the pennies at one side of the crown; but very rarely shows itself on the halfpennies. On some half-groats we find the quatrefoil, the broken annulet, and the mullet on the same coin. No early coin of Henry V. is without one or more of these marks, if we except a few uncertain looking halfpennies and perhaps a farthing, about whose position I entertain some doubt.

When the Calais mint and the great annulet coinage were simultaneously introduced, the annulet, as a distinguishing mark, superseded the quatrefoil, the broken annulet, and the mullet. The annulet was then in the ascendant, and held its position, without a rival, during

¹⁸ I have seen but one exception to this rule.

¹⁹ A few rare halfpence exhibit the broken annulet at each side of the king's face, some have it at each side of the neck.

the remainder of Henry V.'s reign. This mark is placed alike on the coins issued from the London, Calais, and York mints. Those pieces struck at York having sometimes a lis at each side of the king's neck. The annulet, as I explained in a paper on "The London and Calais Groats of Henry IV., V., and VI.," is by no means confined to the coinage of Henry V., and is therefore, of itself, no certain guide unless corroborated by additional evidence. As I shall shortly have to describe the coins, I will not here drift into out-of-place details; but I may say that the division of the annulet money is by far the most troublesome—is by far the most intricate part of this inquiry to explain lucidly; and my views respecting it, to be thoroughly understood, must be unfolded gradually, with the assistance of the coins.

Henry V., who reigned nine years and a half, and whose coins all weigh at the rate of fifteen grains to the penny, introduced the plain cross, and the cross pierced as his mint-marks, having discarded the cross patee, the usual cross of his predecessors.

The badges and great seal of Henry IV. threw no light on the unravelment of his coins; the badges and great seal of Henry V.²⁰ are equally uncommunicative. The will of Henry V. directed that he should be interred in Westminster Abbey;²¹ and in J. P. Neale's "History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter,"²² a full description is given of the ornaments on his tomb: quatrefoils and trefoils are several times mentioned, but very possibly those marks are simply the usual archi-

²⁰ The badges of Henry V. were an ostrich feather, a chained antelope, a chained swan, and a fire-beacon.

²¹ G. M. Towle's "History of Henry the Fifth."

²² Vol. ii., p. 85.

tectural ornaments, and have no bearing in connection with the coinage.

I have already stated that the broken annulet was a mark exclusively used by Henry V., and I have an independent authority to strengthen me in that assertion, whose evidence cannot be rebutted. M. Adrien de Longpérier, the author of a very interesting paper, entitled "Remarks on an Unedited Mouton d'Or, struck in Normandy by Henry V. of England,"²³ affords the required information as to the origin of the so-called broken annulet, little thinking at the time he made his communication that he was affording valuable assistance to future students of unclassified English coins. This writer does not give the meaning of the peculiar mark in question, neither does he allude to it by name, nor does he appear to be aware what object it was intended to represent. He simply reproduces a drawing of it as it appeared in a manuscript in the mint at Paris. That manuscript contained extracts from the "Registre entre deux ais," of which the following is a passage:—

"Item, fit ouvrier ledit Henry en la même année (1415), en les monnoyes de Normandie, moutonnets pareils à ceux du roy Charles, la grande croix de devers la croix anglée de quatre fleur-de-lys. Et ont été faits à 22 karats, et pour différence ont trois **C** sur la bannière." "On the margin of the manuscript," continues M. de Longpérier, "are drawings posterior to the text, and often inexact; the banner of the mouton of Henry is there figured, having on the streamer one **C** thus, whilst the two others are placed in opposite directions, **CC**, at

²³ This paper will well repay perusal. See Num. Chron., vol. xii., p. 6.

the extremities of the cross which terminates the shaft of the banner."

Here we have a *fac-simile* of the broken annulet as seen on the English coins of Henry V., and satisfactory documentary proof that this curious mark was adopted by that king. It will be found on his London, Durham, and York money. What I wish particularly to impress on Numismatists is, the fact that on the broken annulet half-groats of Henry V. *a quatrefoil is almost invariably found after POSVI, together with a mullet on the king's breast.* It *must* therefore be assumed that this king used both those marks. Consequently the *only* inference to be drawn is, that the "mullet-marked" groat with a quatrefoil after POSVI belongs to him, as I have confidently stated on two previous occasions. Any uncertainty is reduced to almost positive certainty as—*the broken annulet will be discovered only on the coinage of Henry V.*

The division of the common annulet money has always proved a stumbling-block in the way of a satisfactory arrangement of the coins of Henry V. and VI. Old writers insisted on giving all the annulet money to Henry V., on evidence little better than a fairy tale of "a blue satin gown full of eyelet-holes." Every scrap of evidence—the fairy tale excepted—proves that the old writers are clearly in the wrong. The Anglo-Gallic series, in addition to much other evidence, supports the opinion lately expressed by writers on this subject, viz., that the annulet was adopted both by Henry V. and VI. On their Anglo-Gallic coins it was used as a secret mark (*point secret*) under various letters on the obverse and reverse. It appears, moreover, that the mint at St. Lô did "not abandon the English mint-mark, the *annulet*, under the second letter, in order to adopt the *point* under the

eighteenth letter," until about the year 1450, many years after Henry VI. had been seated on the throne. That young king "was proclaimed King of France on the 12th of November, 1422; and the Duke of Bedford caused money to be struck in the name of the English prince everywhere within the extent of his power."²⁴

EARLY COINAGE OF HENRY V.

LONDON GROATS.

Quatrefoil after POSVI; mullet on the king's left breast.

⊕ hƎNRIC × DI × GRƆ × RƎX × ƆNGLIƎ or ƆNGL
(rarely) ×× FRƆNƆ' or FRƆNƆƎ (very rarely).

⊕ POSVI ⊕ DƎVM × ƆDIVTORƎ × MƎVM
CIVITAS × LONDON ×.

1. m.m. cross pierced, ƆNGLIƎ ×× FRƆNƆ, egg-shaped swelling on the king's neck. (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. viii., Pl. vi., No. 1.) I have four varieties of this type, but the differences are so slight as not to merit description.
2. ƆNGLIƎ ×× FRƆNƆƎ. In other respects similar to No 1.²⁵
3. FRƆNƆ, part of the mullet extends beyond the shoulder of the king.
4. m.m. plain cross, ƆNGL' ×× FRƆNƆ, mullet on breast in usual position.
5. Reads ƆNGLƎ. (British Museum.)
6. m.m. plain cross; rev., cross pierced, ƆNGLIƎ.
7. m.m. cross pierced; rev., plain cross, type as above, but

²⁴ Num. Chron., vol. xii., p. 19.

²⁵ In order to avoid tedious repetition and confusion in the description of the coins, I wish it to be understood that No. 2 differs only from No. 1, and that No. 3 differs only from No. 2 (and so on), in the manner stated.

mullet on breast omitted (quite an exceptional coin). I have another exceptional piece from the Stamford find, the mullet, as usual, is on the breast, but the quatrefoil after POSVI is not visible.

On all the above coins the curve of the tressure on the king's breast is fleured, the two curves above the crown being plain. It is very rarely that these early groats of Henry V. can be obtained in very fine condition.

EARLY LONDON HALF-GROATS (not common).

All with the quatrefoil and broken annulet.

1. m.m. cross pierced obv. only. $\text{ANGLIA} \times \text{FR}$, mullet on breast, broken annulet (O) at the left side of crown, eleven curves to the tressure, that on the breast not fleured, usual quatrefoil after POSVI, reads $\text{ADIV-TOR} \times \text{M} \times$. Weight $29\frac{1}{4}$ grs. (Pl. IV., No. 3.) Another has the annulet broken at the right side.
2. $\times \text{F}$, similar, but having in addition three pellets at right of crown. Weight $28\frac{1}{2}$ grs. Hawkins, 331. (The broken annulet was taken by Hawkins for the common annulet.)
3. Mullet on left breast. Hawkins, p. 110. These half-groats are not common.

EARLY LONDON PENNIES.

$\text{HENRIC} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGLIA}$ or ANGL F or FRANCO .
CIVITAS LONDON.

All with a broken annulet at one side of the king's crown.

1. m.m. cross pierced, $\text{ANGLIA} \times \text{F}$, mullet at left, broken annulet (O) at right of crown, egg-shaped lump on neck, quatrefoil after CIVITAS. Weight $14\frac{3}{4}$ grs. (Pl. IV., No. 4).
2. Without quatrefoil after CIVITAS. Three varieties, with and without crosses after CIVITAS and LONDON. Weights $15\frac{1}{2}$, $14\frac{1}{2}$, and $14\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

3. $\text{ANGL} \times \text{F}$, mullet right, \odot left of crown. Two varieties. Weights $14\frac{1}{2}$ and $14\frac{3}{4}$ grs. One coin has two crosses, the other only one cross after CIVITAS .

4. $\text{ANGL} \times \text{FRANQ}$.

EARLY YORK PENNIES.

$\text{HENRIC} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGL} \times \text{FRANQ}$, or $\text{HENRICVS} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGLI}$.

$\text{CIVITAS} \text{ EBORAC}$. Open quatrefoil in centre of cross.

All with a broken annulet at one side of the king's crown.

1. m.m. cross, $\text{ANGL} \times \text{FRANQ}$, mullet at left, \odot at right of crown. Weight 15 grs.
2. Mullet at left, \odot at right of crown—very coarse work. Weight $15\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
3. $\text{HENRICVS} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGLI}$, same marks as No. 1. Weight 15 grs. (Pl. IV., No. 6.)

The above are from the Highbury find. I do not attempt to classify the coins described by Hawkins, no note having been taken of the broken annulet.

DURHAM PENNIES.

All with a broken annulet at one side of the king's crown.

1. m.m. cross, $\text{HENRICVS} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGLI}$, mullet left, \odot right of crown, DVNOLM , a quatrefoil after ANGLI and CIVITAS . (Pl. IV., No. 5.) Two varieties from the Highbury find.
2. Has in addition an annulet between the pellets in one quarter of the rev.

EARLY LONDON HALFPENNIES.

$\text{HENRIC} \times \text{RAX} \times \text{ANGL}$.
 CIVITAS LONDON or LONDON .

All with a broken annulet at each side of the neck or the face or crown of the king.

1. m.m. cross pierced, \odot at each side of crown, LONDON .
 I have three of these unpublished coins from different

dies. They weigh respectively $7\frac{1}{2}$, 8, and 8 grs., and are from the Highbury find. I call particular attention to the fact that the first N in London is Roman, the second old English. (Pl. IV., No. 7.)

2. C at each side of neck, small head, broad shoulders, LONDON. From the Highbury find, 9 and $7\frac{1}{4}$ grs. (Pl. IV., No. 8.)
3. m.m. cross, O at each side of crown, large head. Weight 7 grs. (Highbury find.)
4. m.m. cross pierced, C each side of face, small head, shoulders unusually broad, covering much of the coin. Weights $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 grs.
5. O at each side of head, shoulders rather broad, two crosses after REX. Weights $8\frac{1}{4}$, $7\frac{3}{4}$, and 7 grs.; different dies.
6. O at each side of crown, various types, sometimes with one, sometimes with two, crosses after hENRIC and REX, a cross is also sometimes after CIVITAS and LONDON. Weights 9, 8, $7\frac{1}{2}$, $7\frac{1}{2}$, $7\frac{1}{4}$, $7\frac{1}{4}$, 7, 7, 7, and $6\frac{3}{4}$ grs., all from slightly different dies. There were very many halfpence of this type amongst the coins discovered at Highbury.
7. O at each side of face, level with the eyes, with two crosses after hENRIC and REX, with and without crosses after CIVITAS and LONDON. Weights 8, 8, and $7\frac{3}{4}$ grs.
8. O at each side of crown; in other respects as the above type. Weights $8\frac{1}{2}$, $8\frac{1}{4}$, $7\frac{3}{4}$, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

LONDON FARTHING.

1. m.m. cross, hENRIC \times REX \times ANGL; rev., CIVITAS LONDON. Weight $3\frac{3}{4}$ grs. There are no peculiar marks on this coin, but so closely does it resemble some early halfpence of Henry V. that I venture to assign it to this king. It is one of three farthings I secured from the Highbury find.

GREAT ANNULET COINAGE.

TYPE 1.

Portrait, workmanship, and legend, a fac-simile of the early money of Henry V.

LONDON GROATS.

⊕ ηΑΝΡΙC × DI × GRΛ × REX × ΑΝΓΛΙC or ΑΝΓΛ (very rarely) ✕ FRΑΝC.

⊕ POSVI o ΔΕΥΜ ✕ ΑΔΙΥΤΟΡC ✕ ΜΕΥΜ.
CIVITAS ✕ LONDON ✕.

An annulet between the pellets in two quarters of the reverse.

1. m.m. cross pierced obv. and rev., ΑΝΓΛΙC, arch of tressure on breast fleured, egg-shaped swelling on neck; rev., an annulet after POSVI and between the pellets in two quarters.
2. Arch of tressure on breast not fleured. This is seldom the case. (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. viii., Pl. vi., No. 2.) Sometimes a comma after FRΑΝC.
3. Reads ΑΝΓΛ, tressure on bust not fleured. Groats of this type very rarely read ΑΝΓΛ.

LONDON HALF-GROATS.

ηΑΝΡΙC ✕ DI ✕ GRΛ ✕ REX ✕ ΑΝΓΛ ✕ F or FR.
POSVI o ΔΕΥΜ ✕ ΑΔΙΥΤΟΡC ✕ Μ or very rarely ΜC.
CIVITAS ✕ LONDON ✕.

An annulet between pellets in two quarters of reverse.

Mint mark on obverse only.

1. m.m. cross pierced, ΑΝΓΛ ✕ FR', eleven arches to the tressure, arch on breast, and two arches above crown not fleured, ΑΔΙΥΤΟΡC ✕ ΜC ✕. Weight 30 grs. (Pl. IV., No. 9). C omitted in the plate.
2. Nine arches to the tressure, ΑΔΙΥΤΟΡC ✕ Μ '. Weight 28½ grs.
3. m.m. cross, F'.

The egg-shaped protuberance on the neck of the king is generally wanting on the annulet half-groats. In fact, these half-groats are of better workmanship than the groats. Comparatively very few were struck.

LONDON PENNIES.

1. m.m. cross pierced, $\eta\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$, two crosses after $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ and $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$, an annulet between the pellets in two quarters.

CALAIS ANNULET MONEY.

TYPE 1.

CALAIS GROATS.

$\oplus \eta\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ or $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$

An annulet at each side of the king's neck.

$\oplus \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \circ \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$

$\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \times$

An annulet between the pellets in two quarters of the reverse.

1. m.m. cross pierced on obv. and rev., $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$, precisely as the London groat No. 1, but having, of course, the usual annulet at each side of the king's neck. (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. viii., Pl. vi., No. 3.)

2. Arch of tressure on breast not fleured (rare). Similar to the London groat No. 2.

3. Reads $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$, (rare), exactly as No. 3 of the London money.

CALAIS HALF-GROATS.

$\eta\epsilon\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \times$ or $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha \times \alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$
or $\alpha\alpha$.

An annulet at each side of neck.

POSVI o DÆVM \times $\overline{\text{PDIVTORÆ} \times \text{M} \times}$.
 VILL Λ \times $\overline{\text{ALIS} \times}$.

An annulet between the pellets in two quarters of the reverse.

Mint-mark on obverse only.

1. m.m. cross pierced, obv. only, an annulet at each side of neck, $\text{P} \overline{\text{NGLIÆ}} \times \text{F}$, eleven arches to the tressure, the arch on the breast, and two arches above the crown not fleured; rev., $\text{PDIVTORÆ} \times \text{M} \times$.
2. $\text{P} \overline{\text{NGL}} \times \text{FR}$, also eleven arches to the tressure. (Pl. IV., No. 10.)
3. $\text{P} \overline{\text{NGLIÆ}} \times \text{F}$, nine arches to the tressure.
4. FR.
5. $\text{P} \overline{\text{NGL}} \times \text{FR}$.
6. F.
7. m.m. cross, FR.

CALAIS PENNY.

1. m.m. cross pierced, $\text{H} \overline{\text{ENRICVS}} \times \text{R} \overline{\text{EX}} \times \text{P} \overline{\text{NGLIÆ}}$, an annulet at each side of neck; $\text{VILL} \overline{\Lambda} \times \text{ALIS} \times$, an annulet between pellets in two quarters.

YORK ANNULET MONEY.

GROAT.

Obv. legend and outer legend of rev. similar to type 1 of the London and Calais annulet money, inner circle $\text{CIVITAS} \times$
 $\text{EBORACI} \circ$.

1. m.m. cross pierced on obv. and rev., $\text{P} \overline{\text{NGLIÆ}} \times \text{FR} \overline{\text{ANCI}}$, lis at each side of neck, arch of tressure on bust fleured, egg-shaped lump on neck; rev., an annulet after POSVI and EBORACI and between the pellets in two quarters. This coin is a fac-simile of Henry V.'s first London and Calais annulet money. Hawkins, No. 336. I have also a specimen, weight $56\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

HALF-GROAT.

1. Exactly similar to the groat. Hawkins, p. 106. See also Dimsdale's catalogue, lot 362.

PENNY.

1. Similar to the groat and half-groat. Hawkins, p. 106.

HALFPENNY.

1. Corresponds with the groat, half-groat, and penny. Hawkins, p. 106. Annulet money struck at York is extra rare.

HENRY V. OR VI.

At this point of the inquiry I confess I somewhat despair of making myself intelligible to those Numismatists who have but a superficial knowledge of the English coinage. I have arrived now at the twisted link in the chain. The annulet groats ascribed by me to Henry V. have all the peculiarities of type and portrait by which at a glance his early money is known. Following these coins appears a variety of London and Calais groats, which, from the slight alteration made in the type, are the most confusing, and at the same time the most difficult to appropriate of the entire series. About these unaccommodating groats I admit I entertain considerable doubt. In a previous paper to this Society I declined altogether to risk an opinion respecting them. One thing, however, is certain, they are either the last coins issued by Henry V., or the first coined by Henry VI. Yet they cannot be called intermediate, because the coins are common enough, and form of themselves a separate coinage (see Pl. IV., Nos. 11 and 12). The annulets retain their usual position on these coins. Differing as a rule from the groats of Henry V., and coinciding with those struck by Henry VI., the tressure of the arch on the king's breast is never fleured. The coins likewise read πNGL , as do those of Henry VI.; never $\pi\text{NGLI}\alpha$, the usual reading on the

groats of Henry V. The portrait inclines to the style of the latter king, and the difference at first sight is certainly not very striking. Nevertheless there is a change and an improvement; the features of the king are fairly distinct, and the egg-like protuberance peculiar to the coins of Henry V. has now more the appearance of a tube extending from the chin to the chest.

Mr. Longstaffe considers that these groats belong to Henry VI. I am slightly inclined to his way of thinking, for the reasons I have given; but, perhaps, Mr. Longstaffe may have more forcible arguments than those I now offer for arriving at his decision.

CALAIS ANNULET GROAT (TYPE 2).

hENRICI ✕ DI ✕ GER ✕ REX ✕ ANGL' ✕ FRANCI'.

An annulet at each side of neck, tressure on bust not fleured.

POSVI o DEVM ✕ ANDIKTOR ✕ MEVM.

VILL ✕ CANTIS ✕.

An annulet between the pellets in two quarters.

1. m.m. cross pierced, tube-like swelling extending from the chin to the chest. Three from different dies. (Pl. IV., No. 11.)

LONDON ANNULET GROAT (TYPE 2).

1. Exactly same type as the Calais groat, two crosses after LONDON. (Pl. IV., No. 12.)

CALAIS PENNY.

1. m.m. cross, hENRICVS ✕ REX ✕ ANGLI ✕, without an annulet at either side of neck; rev., CANTIS ✕ an annulet in two quarters. (Rare type).

LONDON PENNY WITHOUT A DISTINGUISHING MARK.

1. m.m. cross pierced, $\text{HENRIC} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GR} \text{R} \times \text{ANGL}$
— LONDON. (Rare type.)

YORK PENNY.

1. m.m. cross, $\text{HENRICVS} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGLIA}$, trefoil at right, mullet at left of crown, open quatrefoil enclosing a pellet in centre of cross. EBORACI .

LONDON HALFPENNIES.

1. m.m. cross pierced, $\text{HENRIC} \times \text{R} \times \text{ANGL}$, annulet at left, three pellets at right of crown. LONDON. Weights $8\frac{1}{2}$ and $6\frac{1}{2}$ grs.
2. Three pellets at left, annulet at right of crown. Weight 6 grs.
3. An annulet at each side of crown. Weight 6 grs.

Nos. 1 and 2 probably belong to Henry VI., No. 3 to Henry V.

HENRY VI.

1422—1461, and again, 1471.

Henry VI. was born on the 6th of December, 1421, and at the death of his father was not nine months old. The young king was placed under the protectorship of his uncle, the Duke of Bedford. The first coins issued in his reign may possibly have been those last described under the doubtful heading of Henry the V. or VI. Should this supposition prove correct, then Henry VI. continued the annulet both on his London and Calais money, and his first coinage differed very slightly from his father's. Should, on the other hand, the coins in question belong to Henry V., then I feel persuaded the annulet was not introduced by Henry VI. on his English money. That, however, he continued this mark on the Calais money during the early part of his reign admits of no doubt.

Following the coins last under examination, there appear in succession three distinct types of the Calais annulet money, which certainly do belong to Henry VI. The first variety, although the annulets are retained in their accustomed places, exhibits a complete change in portrait, workmanship, and type. The bust now introduced by Henry VI., though certainly not baby-like, has a very youthful appearance (*Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S., vol. viii., Pl. vi., No. 4). So entirely, indeed, does this type differ from that so carefully adhered to by Henry V., that the most incipient Numismatist—to use Mr. Hawkins's expression—can hardly avoid noticing the difference. The unsightly swelling on the king's neck, so often alluded to, has vanished, the tressure of the arch on the breast is never fleured, and the coins always read *ANGL*. In short, with this type commences the alteration in portrait, which, with very trifling changes, continued into Edward IV.'s reign; and with this type ends also the common annulet money. The annulet does not, however, disappear suddenly on the Calais money, as it did on the English. It lingered awhile, and appears to have struggled to retain the position it had maintained for so many years. In the first instance it was opposed by the trefoil, or three pellets, but it outlived that opposition, although it lost for good its important position after *POSVI*. The rosette next became its rival. Again the annulet held its ground for a time; but the mascle arriving to the assistance of the rosette, the annulet is finally defeated, and never again exhibits itself on the coinage of Henry VI. At this period of the English coinage the cross crosslet, or, more properly speaking, the cross patonce, was introduced as a mint-mark. The mascle also secured a firm footing during the remainder of Henry IV.'s reign. The rosette was not for any length

of time permitted to hold the position it had obtained. We shortly find the pine cone competing with it on the same coin. Ultimately the rosette is superseded, and the pine-cone coinage appears. There are various types of this coinage. It must have continued for some years. A distinctive mark after POSVI, which may be said to have continued regularly since Henry IV.'s time, ceased during the pine cone period. After its cessation conspicuous alterations in type occur, new marks and improved workmanship being introduced. I need not here enter into unnecessary details, as I shall shortly have to describe and arrange the coins; suffice it to say that, when a mark after POSVI ceased to be of importance, the new coinage selected by Henry VI. so closely resembles in type and marks the early money of Edward IV., that its position in the series cannot possibly be mistaken. The Calais mint appears to have stopped working about the time this type was introduced, a groat with a leaf on the king's breast being the last coin I have seen struck at that place.

A very simple method of distinguishing the half-groats of Henry V. from those struck by Henry VI. is this:—half-groats of Henry V. have the mint-mark *on the obverse of the coin only*, and read $\pi\text{DIVTOR}\epsilon\times\Omega$, very rarely $\Omega\epsilon$: half-groats of Henry VI. read $\pi\text{DIVTOR}\epsilon\times\Omega\epsilon\text{V}\Omega$, and have *the mint-mark on both sides of the coin*. These coins and pieces of smaller denomination fall into place under the groats.

HENRY VI. ANNULET MONEY.

TYPE 3.

CALAIS GROATS.

$\oplus \text{HENRIC} \times \text{DI} \times \text{GR}\pi \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \text{ANGL}' \times \text{FR}\pi\text{R}\epsilon.$

An annulet at each side of the king's neck, the arch of the tressure on the breast never fleured.

⊕ POSVI o DÆVM × ΠDIVTORÆ × ΜÆVM.
 VILLΠ × ΑΠΛISIA' ×.

An annulet between the pellets in two quarters.

1. m.m. cross pierced, youthful portrait, features rounded and well-defined, very similar to the groats of Edward IV., no egg-like or tube-like swelling on the neck. (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. viii., Pl. vi., No. 4.)

These groats always read ΠNGL. I have four trifling varieties—two with, two without a comma after FRΠNΛ.

CALAIS HALF-GROATS (ANNULET MONEY—TYPE 3).

⊕ ηΑΝΡΙCΙ × DI × GRΠ × REX × ΠNGL' × F' or FR.

Annulet at each side of the king's neck; always nine arches to the tressure.

⊕ POSVI o DÆVM × ΠDIVTORÆ × ΜÆVM.
 VILLΠ × ΑΠΛIS' ×.

Annulet between the pellets in two quarters; mint mark always on both sides of the coin.

1. m.m. cross on *obv. and rev.*, ΠNGL' × F', same youthful portrait as on the groats of this type. Weights 29 and 27 grs., from different dies. (Pl. IV., No. 13.)
2. FR. Weights 28 and 27 grs.

CALAIS PENNY (TYPE 3).

⊕ ηΑΝΡΙCΙVS × REX × ΠNGLIA.

Annulet at each side of neck.

VILLΠ × ΑΠΛIS ×.

Annulet between the pellets in two quarters.

1. m.m. cross, same type as the groat and half-groat.

CALAIS HALFPENNY (TYPE 3).

1. m.m. cross, $\text{h}\epsilon\text{NRIC} \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \times \text{ANGL}'\text{—VILL}\pi \times \text{ALIS} \times$, the annulet at each side of neck is as large as on the penny, same type as the groat, half-groat, and penny.

London annulet money of type 3 I have not seen. Perhaps a London halfpenny in my cabinet may possibly belong to this coinage.

ANNULET-TREFOIL COINAGE.

CALAIS GROATS.

An annulet at each side of the king's neck, and between the pellets *only in one quarter of the rev.*; *the annulet is discontinued after POSVI, a trefoil taking its place*; the legend on obv. and rev. continues unchanged.

1. m.m. cross pierced, rev. cross, arch of tressure on breast not fleured, small trefoil at left of crown. *On rev. a trefoil or three pellets supersedes the annulet after POSVI.* (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. viii., Pl. vi. No. 5.) Of this rare type I have two slight varieties.

CALAIS HALF-GROAT (annulet-trefoil coinage).

1. m.m. cross on obv. and rev., $\text{ANGL}' \times \text{F}$, legend and portrait same as preceding type. Unlike the groat, this half-groat has not a trefoil at the side of the crown; but, like the groat, it has a trefoil or three pellets after POSVI. It has also only one annulet on the rev. Weight 29 grs. This is a rare coin. A Calais penny, halfpenny, or farthing of this type I have not yet met with. If coins were struck at London to correspond with this Calais money, they have escaped me unobserved. Perhaps the half-pennies Nos. 1 and 2 given to Henry V. or VI. may belong to this period.

ANNULET-ROSETTE COINAGE.

CALAIS GROATS.

An annulet at each side of the king's neck, but *not* between the pellets on the rev.; *a rosette supersedes the trefoil after POSVI*; legend on obv. and rev. remains unchanged.

1. m.m. cross pierced, rev. cross, arch of tressure on bust not fleured; rev. rosette after POSVI and $\text{C}\text{P}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\text{C}$. (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. viii., Pl. vi., No. 6.)

CALAIS HALF-GROATS (annulet-rosette coinage).

1. m.m. cross on obv. and rev., $\text{P}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}' \text{ } \frac{\times}{\times} \text{F}'$, rosette after POSVI and $\text{C}\text{P}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}$, same type as the groat.
2. Reads $\text{C}\text{P}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\text{C}$, a mascle or open lozenge between VIL and LP .

CALAIS HALFPENNY (annulet-rosette coinage).

1. m.m. cross, $\text{h}\text{E}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \text{ } \frac{\times}{\times} \text{R}\text{E}\text{X} \text{ } \frac{\times}{\times} \text{P}\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}$, same type as the groat and half-groat, rosette after $\text{C}\text{P}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\text{C}$, mascle before LP .

ROSETTE-MASCLE COINAGE.

Annulets discarded. Rosette after POSVI, rosettes and mascles interspersed in the legends.

CALAIS GROATS.

1. m.m. cross pierced, rev. cross, crosses divide words on obv., rosette after POSVI, mascle between VIL and LP , two crosses after $\text{C}\text{P}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\text{C}$. Hawkins's Anglo-Gallic, No. 7.
2. Rosette after POSVI and $\text{C}\text{P}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\text{C}$. Ditto No. 6.
3. Has in addition a mascle between VIL and LP .
4. Rosette after $\text{h}\text{E}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$ and at each side of S , mascle after GRP ; rev., rosette after POSVI and $\text{C}\text{P}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\text{C}$, mascle before LP .
5. Rosette only at each side of S on obv., otherwise as No. 4.
6. Rosette after $\text{h}\text{E}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$, DI, GRP , and at each side of S , mascle after REX ; rev. as No. 4.
7. m.m. cross, rosette after $\text{h}\text{E}\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$ DI GRP REX and at each side of S ; rev. as No. 4.

8. m.m. cross patonce; rev. cross, cross instead of rosette at each side of \searrow mascle after REX; rev. as No. 4. Hawkins's Anglo-Gallic, No. 10.
9. Rosette after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{I}\text{Q}$ DI GR π and at each side of \searrow , mascle after REX; rev. as No. 4 (three varieties). (Pl. V., No. 1.)
10. Reads $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{I}$. Hawkins's Anglo-Gallic No. 12; also in my cabinet.

CALAIS HALF-GROATS (rosette-mascle coinage).

1. m.m. cross on obv. and rev., $\pi\text{N}\rho\text{L}$ \searrow F, rosette after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{I}\text{Q}$ DI GR π and at each side of \searrow , mascle after REX; rev., rosette after POSVI and $\text{C}\pi\text{LISI}\epsilon$, mascle before L π .
2. m.m. cross patonce; rev. cross, rosette after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{I}\text{Q}$, DI, and REX, mascle after GR π ; rev. as No. 1. Hawkins's Anglo-Gallic, No. 18.
3. Rosette after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{I}\text{Q}$, DI, and GR π , and at each side of \searrow , mascle after REX; rev. as No. 1. (Pl. IV., No. 14.)

CALAIS PENNIES (rosette-mascle coinage).

1. m.m. cross, $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{I}\text{Q}\text{VS}$ REX $\pi\text{N}\rho\text{L}\epsilon$, rosette after first word, mascle after second; rev., rosette after $\text{C}\pi\text{LISI}\epsilon$, mascle between VII and L π \times . One coin reads $\text{C}\pi\text{LIS}$ and has only rosette on rev.
2. m.m. cross patonce, otherwise as No. 1. Hawkins's Anglo-Gallic, No. 22.

CALAIS HALFPENNIES (rosette-mascle coinage).

1. m.m. cross, $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{I}\text{Q}$ REX $\pi\text{N}\rho\text{L}$ —VILL π $\text{C}\pi\text{LIS}$, rosette after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{I}\text{Q}$ and $\text{C}\pi\text{LIS}$, mascle after REX and before L π .
2. Rosette after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{I}\text{Q}$ REX and $\text{C}\pi\text{LIS}$, mascle before L π . Rud. iv. 18.
3. m.m. cross patonce, otherwise similar.

CALAIS FARTHING (rosette-mascle coinage).

1. Similar to the halfpenny No. 1. Hawkins's Anglo-Gallic, pl. iii., No. 9. Calais farthings are very rare.

LONDON GROAT (rosette-mascle coinage).

1. m.m. cross pierced, mascle after CIVITAS, rosette after LONDON. Hawkins, p. 110.
2. m.m. cross patonce; rev. cross, rosette after HENRIC, DI, GRÆ, and at each side of S, mascle after REX; rev., a rosette after POSVI, mascle before, rosette after LONDON. Also Hawkins, 330.

LONDON HALFPENNIES.

1. m.m. cross, HENRIC, REX, ANGL, mascle before LONDON and after REX, marks after HENRIC and LONDON indistinct.
2. Mascle before, rosette after LONDON, no marks on obv. (Mr. Golding.)

ROSETTE-PINE-CONE COINAGE.

CALAIS GROATS.

1. m.m. cross patonce; rev. cross, rosette after HENRIC, DI, GRÆ, and at each side of S, mascle after REX; rev., pine cone after POSVI and CALISIE, mascle before LÆ (rare). (Pl. V., No. 2.)
2. Rosette after HENRIC and DI, pine cone after GRÆ, POSVI, and CALISIE, mascle after REX and before LÆ (rare).

LONDON HALF-GROAT (rosette-pine-cone coinage).

1. m.m. cross, ANGL' & F, rosette after HENRIC, DI, GRÆ, mascle after REX and before LONDON, pine cone after POSVI and LONDON. Rud. iv. 16.

PINE-CONE COINAGE.

Pine cone after POSVI; pine cones and mascles on obv. and rev.

CALAIS GROAT.

1. m.m. cross patonce; rev. cross, pine cone after HENRIC, DI, and GRÆ, mascle after REX; rev., pine cone after POSVI and CALISIE, mascle between VIL and LÆ. With and without comma after FRÆNC, with and without two crosses after VIL LÆ. (Pl. V., No. 3.)

CALAIS HALF-GROAT (pine-cone coinage).

1. m.m. cross patonce; rev. cross, $\Pi\Omega\Gamma\text{L} \text{ } \S \text{ } F$, pine cone after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$, DI , and $GR\text{N}$, mascle after $R\epsilon X$; rev., mark after $POSVI$ discontinued, pine cone after $\text{C}\text{I}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\epsilon$, mascle before $L\text{N}^{\times}$. Weight 30 grs. (Pl. V., No. 5.)

CALAIS PENNY (pine-cone coinage).

1. m.m. probably cross patonce, $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{V}\text{S} \text{ } I.\epsilon X \text{ } \Pi\Omega\Gamma\text{L}\epsilon$, pine cone before, mascle after $R\epsilon X$, pine cone after $\text{C}\text{I}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\epsilon$, mascle between VIL and $L\text{N}$. Hawkins's Anglo-Gallic, No. 23.

CALAIS HALFPENNY (pine-cone coinage).

1. m.m. cross patonce, $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}\text{V}\text{S} \text{ } R\epsilon X \text{ } \Pi\Omega\Gamma\text{L}$, mascle after $R\epsilon X$ and between VIL and $L\text{N}$, pine cone after $\text{C}\text{I}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\epsilon$. Hawkins's Anglo-Gallic, No. 27. I have also a specimen.

LONDON GROATS (pine-cone coinage).

1. m.m. cross patonce, rev. cross, pine cone after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$, DI , and $GR\text{N}$, mascle after $R\epsilon X$; rev., pine cone after $POSVI$, mascle before, pine cone after, $L\text{O}\text{N}\text{D}\text{O}\text{N}$.
2. Pine cone or leaf? after DI , $GR\text{N}$, $POSVI$, and $L\text{O}\text{N}\text{D}\text{O}\text{N}$, mascle after $R\epsilon X$ and $\text{C}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S}$. Rud. iv. 14.

Marks after POSVI cease.

1. Pine cone after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$, DI , and $GR\text{N}$, three pellets after $R\epsilon X$; rev., no mark after $POSVI$, pine cone before, three pellets after, $L\text{O}\text{N}\text{D}\text{O}\text{N}$.
2. Pine cone on arch of tressure on king's breast, three pellets after $R\epsilon X$, crosses divide other words of outer legends; rev. as No. 1.
3. Pine cone on breast and also after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$, DI , and $GR\text{N}$, three pellets after $R\epsilon X$; rev. as No. 1. (Two varieties.)

LONDON HALF-GROAT (pine-cone coinage).

1. m.m. cross patonce, pine cone after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\rho\text{R}\text{I}\text{C}$, DI , $GR\text{N}$, and $L\text{O}\text{N}\text{D}\text{O}\text{N}$, lozenge after $R\epsilon X$ and $\text{C}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{S}$. Hawkins, p. 110.

LONDON HALFPENNIES (pine-cone coinage).

1. m.m. cross, $\eta\epsilon\text{N}\text{R}\text{I}\text{C} \times \text{R}\epsilon\text{X} \text{N}\text{G}\text{L}$, mascle after $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$, pine cone on breast and under N in LON .
2. Leaf or pine cone on breast, cross before, lozenge (?) after $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$. Hawkins, p. 111.
3. m.m. cross patonce, lozenge before, leaf or cone after $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$, lozenge before TTS . Hawkins, 334.

THE LAST GROATS STRUCK AT CALAIS.

1. m.m. cross, mascle after $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$, P after $\text{C}\text{A}\text{L}\text{I}\text{S}\text{I}\epsilon$.
2. m.m. cross, leaf in spandril under bust, mascle after $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$ and between VIL and LK . (Pl. V., No. 4.)

This is the last coin I have seen issued from the Calais mint. It is rare.

GROATS STRUCK AT LONDON ABOUT THE TIME THE CALAIS MINT CEASED WORKING.

1. m.m. cross voided; rev. cross, pine cone in spandril under bust, mascle after $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$; no marks on rev.
2. obv. as No. 1; rev., mascle before DONDON (so spelt), pine cone under final N in $\text{N}\epsilon\text{V}\text{N}$. Hawkins, 328. I have likewise a specimen.
3. m.m. cross patonce, trefoil or three pellets after $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$, $\text{N}\epsilon\text{V}\text{N}$, and $\text{C}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{S}$, two crosses after LON and DON ; reads $\text{N}\text{D}\text{I}\text{V}\text{TOR}$.

COINS STRUCK AT LONDON AFTER THE CALAIS MINT CEASED WORKING.

Three pellets at each side of neck, leaf or pine cone on arch of tressure on breast.

1. m.m. cross patonce, crosses divide words of obv. legend, leaf or pine cone on breast outside the tressure, three pellets at each side of neck; rev., three pellets after $\text{D}\epsilon\text{V}\text{N}$; reads $\text{S}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{S}$. Hawkins also mentions this curious variety. In Sir John Twisden's catalogue a groat is stated to read $\text{C}\text{I}\text{V}\text{I}\text{T}\text{OS}$.

2. Three pellets after GR π and LONDON, pine cone or leaf before LONDON. Hawkins, p. 110.
3. m.m. cross patonce; rev. cross, three pellets after h ϵ NRIC, DI, GR π , and LONDON.
4. Three pellets after R ϵ X and FR π NC, small leaf on breast.
5. m.m. cross patonce obv. only, reads FR π N, three pellets after DI and LONDON.

Three pellets at each side of neck and a dot in two quarters of rev., leaf or pine cone on arch of tressure on breast.

LONDON GROATS.

1. m.m. cross patonce obv. only, reads FR π NC, three pellets after R ϵ X, two crosses after POSVI and before DON.

Dots in quarters of rev.; no peculiar marks.

1. m.m. cross patonce obv. only, a dot between the pellets in two quarters of rev.

2. A dot in each quarter of rev. (Rare).

A dot at each side of crown and in two quarters of rev., pine cone or leaf on the arch of the tressure on the breast.

LONDON GROATS.

1. m.m. cross patonce obv. only, three pellets at each side of neck and after R ϵ X, reads FR π NC.
2. Without the three pellets at each side of neck and after R ϵ X.
3. Reads FR π NCI ϵ , two crosses after POSVI.
4. π NGLI \S FR π NC, no crosses on rev.
5. π NGLI \S FR π N.

Pine cone or leaf on neck, dot at each side of crown and in two quarters of rev.

LONDON GROATS.

1. no m.m. π NGLI \S FR π NC, arch of tressure on bust fleured, small cross after POSVI and LONDON. (Rare).

2. m.m. cross patonce obv. only, no crosses on rev. (Three varieties).

On the following coins I find no trace of dots in the quarters of the rev.; in other respects the type is unchanged.

LONDON GROATS.

1. Small mullet in place of m.m., $\text{ANGL} \text{ } \text{\text{X}} \text{ } \text{FRAN} \text{ } \text{C}$, pine cone or leaf on arch of tressure on breast, pellet each side crown, crosses divide words of obv. legend.
2. m m. cross patonce, obv. only, $\text{ANGLI} \text{ } \text{\text{X}} \text{ } \text{FRAN} \text{ } \text{C}$, tressure on bust fleured, pine cone or leaf on neck, in other respects similar to No. 1. (Two varieties).
3. reads $\text{FRAN} \text{ } \text{C}$.
4. $\text{ANGLI} \text{ } \text{\text{X}} \text{ } \text{FRAN} \text{ } \text{C}$, peculiar shaped bust, arch of tressure fleured, above the tressure a pine cone or leaf, no mark on rev. (Pl. V., No. 10.)

Two dots at each side of head (rare) and one dot in two quarters of rev.

LONDON Groat.

1. m.m. cross patonce obv. only, ANGLI , tressure on the bust fleured, pine cone or leaf on neck.

Cross (saltire) on neck, dot at each side of crown and in two quarters of rev.

LONDON GROATS.

1. m.m. cross patonce obv. only, $\text{ANGLI} \text{ } \text{FRAN} \text{ } \text{C}$ (Z omitted), tressure on bust not fleured, no mark after POSVI.
2. Pierced mullet after POSVI.
3. Pierced mullet after $\text{HENRI} \text{ } \text{C}$, tressure on bust fleured (Two varieties.)
4. Tressure on bust not fleured.
5. Similar, but reads $\text{ANGL} \text{ } \text{FRAN} \text{ } \text{C} \text{ } \text{\text{X}}$.
6. Tressure on bust fleured and a cross after $\text{ADIVTOR} \text{ } \text{C}$.
7. $\text{ANGLI} \text{ } \text{FRAN} \text{ } \text{C}$ (S omitted), pierced mullet after $\text{HENRI} \text{ } \text{C}$ and POSVI, tressure on bust not fleured. (Num. Chron., vol. viii., Pl. vi., No. 7.)

8. Tressure on bust fleured, the mullet after $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC}$ and POSVI apparently not pierced.
9. Pierced mullet after $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC}$, closed mullet after POSVI , tressure on bust not fleured.
10. Mascle, or open lozenge after $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC}$ and $\text{GR}\pi$, pierced mullet after POSVI , tressure on bust fleured, $\pi\text{NGLI} \S \text{FR}\pi\text{N}$. Hawkins, No. 329, reads $\text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$.
11. Mascle after $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC}$, reads $\pi\text{NGLI} \text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$ (\S omitted), no mark after POSVI .
12. Mascle after $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIC}$ and $\text{GR}\pi$, reads $\pi\text{NGLI} \S \text{FR}\pi\text{N}$. This coin has not the usual dots on the rev.

A fleur-de-lis on the neck; last of the heavy groats of Henry VI.

LONDON GROAT.

1. m.m. cross patonce obv. only, dot each side crown and in two quarters of rev., arch of tressure on bust fleured, two crosses after LONDON , reads $\pi\text{NGLI} \text{FR}\pi\text{N}\alpha$ (\S omitted) (Pl. V., No. 11). On heavy groats of Edward IV. the Z is very frequently omitted, see Num. Chron., N.S., vol. x., Pl. viii., No. 2. After the Calais mint ceased working, it will be observed that the heavy London money of Henry VI. usually has the mint-mark on the obverse of the coin only.

LONDON HALF-GROATS.

1. m.m. cross patonce; rev. cross, $\pi\text{NGL}' \S \text{F}'$, nine arches to tressure, that on breast not fleured; rev., $\pi\text{DIV-TOR}\alpha \text{M}\alpha\text{V}\text{M}$, no mark after POSVI , three pellets after LONDON . Weight, 28 grs. (Pl. V., No. 6.)

Extremely few half-groats were coined by Henry VI. after the Calais mint ceased working. The above is the only example I can boast of. In the British Museum is another and later specimen.

2. m.m. small mullet, obv. only, $\pi\text{NGLI} \S \text{FR}\pi\text{N}$, pellet each side of crown and in two quarters of rev., pine cone on breast.

LONDON PENNIES.

1. m.m. cross, $\eta\epsilon\text{NRICVS} \text{R}\alpha\text{X} \pi\text{NGLI}$, lozenge after $\text{R}\alpha\text{X}$, cross at each side of crown. Roman N in

London. See Rud. Sup. 2, 13. I doubt the authenticity of this coin.

2. m.m. cross patonce or crosslet, $\eta\epsilon\text{N R}\text{I}\text{C R}\text{EX}\ \text{N}\text{OGLI}$, cross (saltire) on breast, dot at each side of crown and in two quarters of rev., trefoil (?) after $\eta\epsilon\text{N}$, open lozenge before and after REX , two crosses after LONDON . Hawkins, No. 333.

DURHAM PENNIES.

1. m.m. cross, $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIQVS} \times \text{R}\text{EX}\ \text{N}\text{OGLI}\epsilon$, mullet at left of crown, mascle after REX and DVROLMI . Hawkins, No. 332.

I pass without remark the Durham pennies engraved by Ruding.

YORK PENNIES.

Quatrefoil in centre of cross.

1. m.m. cross patonce, $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIQVS R}\text{EX}\ \text{N}\text{OGLI}\epsilon$, cross at each side of head, mascle after REX ; CIVITAS EBORACI , mascle after CIVI . (See also Rud. Sup. 11, 33.)
2. Saltire instead of cross at each side of crown. Hawkins, p. 106.
3. Mullet at each side of crown, rose before EBORACI , mascle before TAS . Hawkins, No. 340.
4. NOGL , mullet at right, cross at left of crown.
5. $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIQ R}\text{EX}\ \text{N}\text{OGLI}$, dot at each side of crown and in two quarters of rev., saltire at each side of neck and after NOGLI .

LONDON HALFPENNIES.

It is not unlikely that some of the halfpence to follow should have been arranged under the groats with a pine cone after POSVI —*i.e.*, the pine-cone coinage proper.

1. m.m. cross patonce, $\eta\epsilon\text{NRIQ R}\text{EX}\ \text{N}\text{OGL}$, two crosses between words; rev., CIVITAS LONDON .
2. Mascle after REX .

3. m.m. cross, leaf on breast.
4. Three pellets each side of neck, leaf or pine cone on breast, reads SIVITVS.
5. Similar, but reads ANGLI and CIVITAS.
6. Leaf or pine cone on breast, dot at each side of crown and in two quarters of rev., reads ANGLI.
7. m.m. cross patonce, leaf or pine cone on breast, dot at each side of crown and in two quarters of rev., a cross after hEN and ANGLI. (Two varieties.)
8. Without dots on rev. and without cross after hEN. (Pl. V., No. 8.)
9. m.m. cross, saltire on breast, pellet each side of crown. (Pl. V., No. 7.)

YORK HALFPENNY.

1. m.m. cross fleury or patonce, hENRIC REX ANGL, cross after hEN_x, -RIC, and REX, pellet at each side of crown, CIVITAS EBORACI. Hawkins, 339. (Rare).

LONDON FARTHINGS.

1. m.m. cross, hENRIC REX ANGL, no peculiarities. Hawkins, 335. I have a specimen of this coin, weight $3\frac{1}{4}$ grs. It is the only type mentioned by Hawkins.
2. ANGLI, leaf on breast, pellet each side of crown, m.m. cross. Weight $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs. (Pl. V., No. 9.) (Rare.)
3. hENRV REX ANGLI, m.m. cross, a saltire on breast. Weight 4 grs. (Rare).

The following is a rough summary of the arrangement of the silver coins of Henry IV., V., and VI.

HENRY IV.

During the reign of this king the weight of the silver coinage was reduced from 18 to 15 grs. to the penny. He

coined money at London, Durham, and York. His mint-mark was a *cross patee*. His portrait, particularly in the arrangement of the hair, resembles the money of Edward III. and Richard II., and his coins cannot therefore be mistaken. He sometimes used the Roman N, sometimes the old English R in London. There is at present no satisfactory proof of the existence of a genuine heavy groat. Light groats read ANGLIA and ADIVTORÆM , and have a *slipped trefoil* on the breast, after POSVI or after FRANCO. For coins of Henry IV. see Plate III., Nos. 1 to 8; also Hawkins, Nos. 323—327, and No. 337.

HENRY V.

M.M., *plain cross* or *cross pierced*. Weight 15 grs. to the penny. Two distinct coinages. Portrait altered from that of Henry IV., the hair being arranged as on the money of Edward IV. Tressure on bust, as a rule, fleured. Old English R in London. Groats and half-groats, though sometimes reading ANGL , as a rule read ANGLIA ; they also read ADIVTORÆ , never ADIVTORÆM . Half-groats, in this reign only, frequently have more than nine arches to the tressure; another peculiarity with these half-groats is that the m.m. is on obverse only, and the reverse legend reads M , very rarely MÆ . Groats of Henry V. have an egg-shaped swelling on the throat; so not unfrequently have the half-groat and smaller pieces.

Early or quatrefoil—broken-annulet coinage: London, Durham, and York. On the groats and half-groats a *quatrefoil* after POSVI, and a *mullet* on the breast. Half-groats are further marked with the *broken annulet* (C) at one side of the crown. On the pennies and halfpennies will also be discovered this peculiar mark, which was *only*

used by Henry V. For his early coins see Plates III. and IV., and Num. Chron., N.S. vol. viii. Pl. vi. No. 1; also Hawkins, No. 331.

Annulet coinage, type 1: London, Calais, and York. A fac-simile of the early coinage in portrait, legend, workmanship, and peculiarities of type; the *annulet*, however, supersedes the quatrefoil, the broken annulet, and the mullet. See Plate IV., Nos. 9 and 10; also Num. Chron., N.S., vol. viii. Pl. vi. Nos. 2 and 3; also Hawkins, No. 336.

HENRY V. OR VI.

Annulet money, type 2: London and Calais. M.M. cross pierced, πNGL , never $\pi\text{NGLI}\bar{\text{A}}$. Arch of tressure on bust never fleured. Tube-like instead of egg-like swelling on neck. Workmanship improved; the portrait has neither the emaciated appearance of type 1, nor the youthful appearance of type 3. See Plate IV., Nos. 11 and 12.

HENRY VI.

Youthful portrait. Style of work much improved. Mints—London, Calais, Durham, York, and Bristol.²⁶ Weights 15 and 12 grs. to the penny. M.M. plain cross, cross pierced, cross voided, cross patonce, small mullet, and one variety has no m.m. Marks after POSVI are:—the annulet (type 3), the trefoil or three pellets, the rosette, the pine cone, and the pierced mullet—with the pine cone,

²⁶ Light money only was struck at Bristol. For description of light money see a page or two forward.

however, a mark after POSVI ceased to act as a guide. Interspersed in the legends on obverse and reverse will be found on certain coinages the rosette, the mascele or open lozenge, the pine cone, the leaf,²⁷ the trefoil or three pellets, the mullet, and the pierced mullet. On the neck or breast of heavy money struck late in the reign of Henry VI. will be seen a pine cone, a leaf (on breast only), a cross (saltire), or a fleur-de-lis. Dots at this period will nearly always be discovered at each side of the crown, and extra dots are also in the quarters of the reverse. Groats and half-groats of Henry VI. never read $\pi\text{NGLI}\mathfrak{A}$, and always have the old English \mathfrak{N} in London. Until late in his reign the tressure on the bust was not fleured. Half-groats have m.m. on obverse and reverse, and read $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{N}$, and have the usual nine arches to the tressure. All coins of Henry VI. resemble those struck by Edward IV. Towards the end of his reign this resemblance, both as regards the heavy and light money, is so striking, that the name of the king must be referred to before one coinage can with certainty be separated from the other. For a description of the annulet money, and for a list of the numerous types and changes made by Henry VI. on his coinage before his first dethronement, I must refer those who are sufficiently interested in the subject to the information already given in detail.

²⁷ Both a pine cone and a leaf (a rose leaf?) are distinctly visible on some coins of Henry VI. Many times in the preceding pages I have written "pine cone or leaf" as if in uncertainty. The reason of my hesitation is that when Henry discontinued a mark after POSVI, it is impossible to say for certain whether the pine cone or the leaf is represented. I think the former. The mark resembles an apple pip. It shows neither the fibre of a leaf nor the divisions of a pine cone, and sometimes is without a stalk.

As I can add to Hawkins's list of the light money of Henry VI., a few words on the subject may at this point not be out of place. The last heavy coins issued by Henry were, I venture to say, those groats with a fleur-de-lis on the neck, which very probably were circulated about the year 1460. Not many of them appear to have been struck, and before the discovery of the Stamford coins the type was apparently unknown. An interval of about ten years divides the heavy from the light coinage of Henry VI. On the 4th of March, 1460—1, Edward, Earl of March, aided by the Earl of Warwick, entered London, and was proclaimed king under the title of Edward IV. On some early coins issued by Edward a fleur-de-lis on the neck was continued, and the type in other respects underwent little or no alteration, the name of the king being merely changed (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. x. Pl. viii. Nos. 1 and 2). Towards the close of the year 1464, Edward reduced the weight of the silver coinage from 15 to 12 grs. to the penny. In 1470, Edward, feeling secure of his position, ventured to give offence to Warwick, who retaliated by assisting Henry to regain his crown. It was during the period of this king's brief restoration that the following coins were issued from the mints of London, Bristol, and York. The letter R in every instance is formed like the letter B; the same peculiarity is noticeable on the early light money of Edward. (*Num. Chron.*, N.S., vol. x. Pl. viii. No. 3).

LIGHT MONEY OF HENRY VI.

Groats not exceeding 48 grs.

hƎNBIC or hƎNBICV' or hƎNBICVS (very rarely) DI GBƆ
 BƎX ƆNG (very rarely) or ƆNGL S FBƆNƆ
 POSVI DƎVM ƆDIVTOBƎ' MƎVM.

LONDON GROATS.

1. m.m. cross pierced on obv. and rev., $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQ}$, small trefoils divide words of obv. legend; cross after $\text{D}\epsilon\text{V}\text{M}$, LONDON.
2. m.m. cross pierced; rev. cross, otherwise as No. 1.
3. m.m. cross pierced; rev. lis, otherwise as No. 1; but no cross after $\text{D}\epsilon\text{V}\text{M}$.
4. m.m. cross on obv. and rev., $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQV}$. Hawkins, p. 108.
5. Reads $\eta\epsilon\text{RIQV}$. Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i., p. 21.
6. m.m. cross; rev. cross pierced, $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQV}$, lis after $\text{D}\epsilon\text{V}\text{M}$. Hawkins remarks, "the lis on the rev. is curious and confirmatory, because the lis upon the gold coins of Henry VI. is exceedingly common." (No. 342.)
7. m.m. cross pierced obv. and rev., $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQV}$, also with lis after $\text{D}\epsilon\text{V}\text{M}$.
8. m.m. cross; rev. lis, $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQV}$ (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. i., p. 21).

BRISTOL GROATS.

All with B on the king's breast.

1. m.m. rose (?); rev. lis. $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQV}$, $\text{VILL}\pi$ BBISTOW. Hawkins, p. 108.
2. m.m. cross; rev. rose, small trefoils separate words of obv. legend, $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQV}$, BISTOW.
3. m.m. trefoil; rev. cross, $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQV}$, BBISTOW. (Num. Chron., N.S., vol. 1, p. 21.) A specimen of this coin has also passed through my hands. Weight 44 grs.
4. m.m. cross; rev. rose, $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQVS}$ and πRG , BISTOW. Hawkins, 341.
5. m.m. sun; rev. rose, $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQ}$, BBISTOW. This coin I have seen. Weight $43\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

YORK GROATS.

All with ϵ on the king's breast.

1. m m. lis obv. and rev., $\eta\alpha\text{NBIQ}$, trefoils between words of obv. legend, $\epsilon\text{BOB}\pi\text{CI}$.

2. Similar, but reads $\eta\epsilon\text{NBICV}$. Hawkins, p. 108. I have also a specimen of this coin; it has not the trefoils between the words of the legend.
3. m.m. lis; rev. rose, $\eta\epsilon\text{NBICV}$. I have seen this coin. Weight 40 grs.

Light half-groats of Henry VI. are extremely rare. Hawkins publishes one struck at London (No. 343). He had not seen a specimen from the York mint. A genuine York half-groat, however, is now known. It has passed through the sales of Cuff, Martin, Murchison, and Whitbourn. It reads $\eta\epsilon\text{NBICV}$, $\epsilon\text{BOB}\pi\text{CI}$, has ϵ on breast, and weighs 20 grs.

A light penny of Henry VI. is at present unknown. I am not satisfied with the halfpence engraved by Hawkins; one weighs 8, the other as much as 10 grs. Moreover, the type leads me to suppose they form part of the heavy coinage. The mascle after $\text{R}\epsilon\text{X}$ on No. 344 is against the theory that this halfpenny belongs to the light coinage. That mark is common enough on his heavy, but I have never seen it on his light money. I believe the marks after $\eta\epsilon\text{NBIC}$ are simply mascles or open lozenges, and have been taken for V. I may be wrong. I have not seen the coins, and cannot therefore speak with certainty. I say nothing of the farthing No. 346. With one exception ($\eta\epsilon\text{NBICVS}$), the light groats of Henry VI. enumerated by Hawkins read $\eta\epsilon\text{NBICV}$, not one $\eta\epsilon\text{NBIC}$. The latter reading, however, it will be noticed from my list, is not uncommon.

In conclusion, I will merely say that my knowledge of the gold coinage of the Henries is so slight, that perhaps I am unwise in venturing an allusion to it; nevertheless, I am under the impression that the gold money will

support the silver. It may be remembered that at a meeting of this Society in December, 1868, "Mr. Evans exhibited nobles of the first and second coinage of Henry IV., and a half-noble of his second coinage, the two latter having a small trefoil close to the head of one of the lions on the reverse." The broken annulet will also be discovered on some gold money of the Henries.

J. FRED. NECK.

HENRY IV.



1. R



2

R



3

R



4

R



5



R

6



R

7

R



8

R



9



HENRY V.

10

R



12



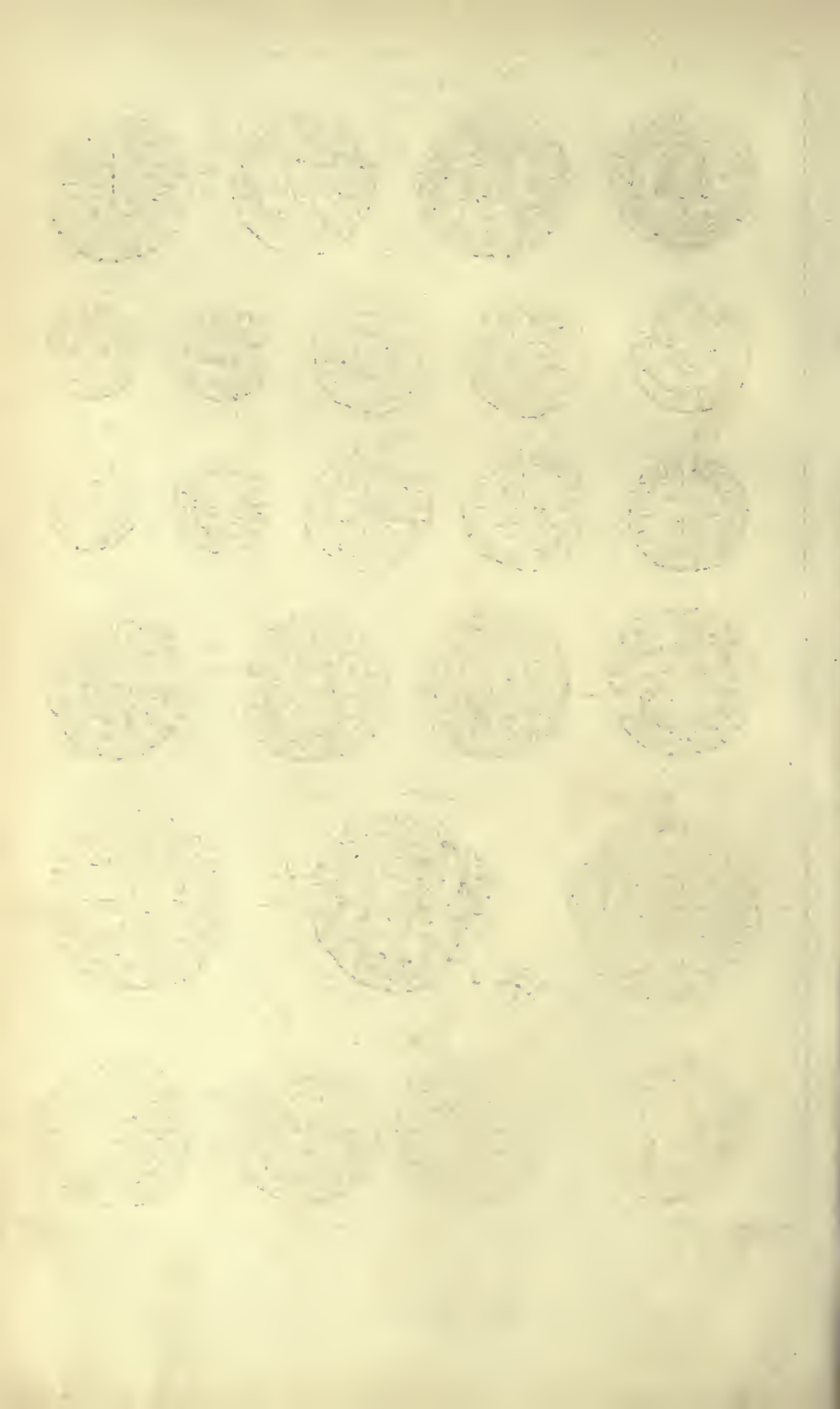
11

R

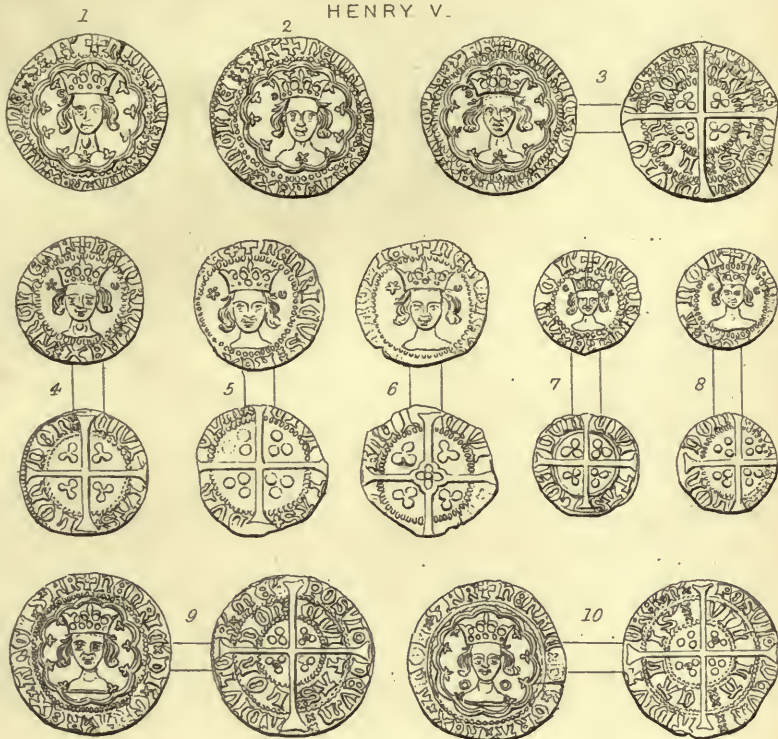


R

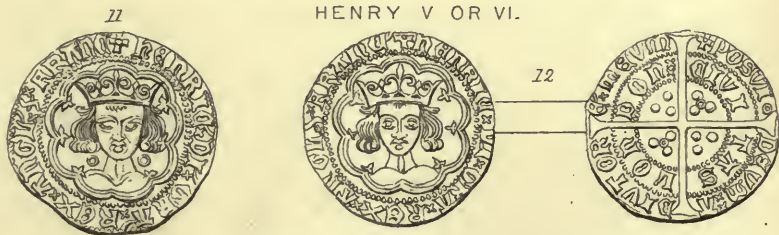




HENRY V.



HENRY V OR VI.



HENRY VI.



JJ. L. D. C.





1 R



2 R



3 R



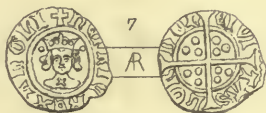
4 R



5 R



6 R



7 R



8 R



9 R



10 R



11

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

The *première livraison* of the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* for 1871 contains the following articles :—

1. "Catalogue of obsidional coins and pièces de Necessité" (20th article), by M. le Lieut.-Col. P. Maillet.

2. "Coins of the Seigneuries—Frankenberg, Argenteau, Bicht," by M. le Baron de Chestret.

3. "Desiderata," by M. Edouard van der Broeck.

4. "Medals relating to the history of the Netherlands," by M. Alex. Pinchart.

5. "Uninscribed jetons of the receveurs of Brussels" (5th article), by M. R. Chalou.

In the *Correspondance* are letters from M. le Comte Maurin Nahuys, M. H. Schuermans, and M. van Peteghem, to M. R. Chalou, the President of the Society.

In the *Mélanges* are notices and engravings of the *Red-Cross* decorations presented by Belgium to wounded French and German soldiers during the late war; remarks on some Roman coins found in Scandinavia, and notices of recent numismatic works.

In the *Nécrologie* are recorded the deaths of M. Clément Wytsman and M. le Général de Bartolomæi, the latter of whom died at Tiflis on the 5th October, 1870. His fine collection of Persian and Bactrian coins will, it is reported, be acquired by Imperial Museum of the Hermitage.

In the *deuxième livraison* of the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* for 1871 are the following articles :—

1. "Catalogue of obsidional coins and pièces de Necessité."—Supplement, by M. le Col. Maillet.

2. "On six unedited coins," by M. le Baron J. de Chestret.

3. "Notice of unknown or unedited coins relating to the history of Belgium," by M. le Baron H. Surmont.

4. "Numismatic history of Lausanne. Amédée de Clermont Hauterive (Saint Amédée)," by M. A. Morel Fatio.

5. "L'Etoile d'honneur de 1831, and its different modifications before the creation of the iron cross," by M. A. L.

6. "Researches on the intrinsic value of the Brabant florin, from the middle of the 15th century to the year 1794," by M. R. Chalou.

In the *Correspondance* are letters from M. H. Schuermans and M. le Baron de Koehne to M. R. Chalon, the President of the Society.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of all the recent numismatic works.

In the *Nécrologie* is a notice of the life of General Bartolomæi, and the deaths are recorded of M. le Comté Achmet de Servins d'Héricourt, M. Dargent, M. de la Fontaine, and M. Ulysse Capitaine.

We have just received the first part of the *Annuaire de la Société Française de la Numismatique et d'Archéologie* for 1868, and we cannot speak too highly of the zeal and enterprise shown by the members of this Society in the production of another of these handsome volumes. The present part contains, besides the reports and proceedings of the Society, the following articles:—

1. "Researches on the coins of the chiefs of the Boians struck in Transpadania und Pannonia," by M. F. de Sauley.

In this article M. de Sauley confines himself to the inscribed tetradrachms commonly called Pannonian, reserving for a future occasion an examination of the numerous class of pieces either unepigraphic or with legends imitated from the Greek coins of Macedonia, Pæonia, and Thrace. He divides the tetradrachms under his consideration into two groups, according to their weight, and gives cogent reasons for supposing that the lighter class, weighing on the average about 160·9 grains, belongs to Cisalpine Gaul, and are in fact tetradrachms struck by the Boians of Transpadania, representing four Massaliote drachms. The heavier class, weighing about 266 grains on the average, he assigns to Pannonia proper; these he supposes to have been struck by the Boians established on the banks of the Danube, where they no longer had relations with the Cisalpine Gauls, but with the Greeks of Macedonia and Thrace, among whom the Attic standard was established.

2. "Selection of ancient coins described, by M. W. Froehner."

This article is accompanied by a series of fourteen beautiful plates, the same which illustrated the sale-catalogues of the celebrated collections of M. Prosper Dupré and M. Julien Gréau. These plates, which are by Dardel, combine great accuracy of detail with an artistic appreciation rarely met with in this country. Our English artists and engravers of coins would do well to devote some time to a careful study of Dardel's method of producing the effect of the various styles of workmanship which characterise the schools of art of different parts of the

Hellenic world. The coins engraved form a large selection of rare or unedited Greek and Roman coins, and the descriptive text is arranged in the order of subjects, and thus forms a series of mythological and artistic notes upon the various types which occur upon the coins.

3. "Researches on the Merovingian coins of Touraine," by M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt.

This learned article will enable the Numismatist to attribute many coins hitherto placed among the uncertain. M. de Ponton d'Amécourt enters upon his task of attribution, by a critical study of the style of the coins rather than by an endeavour to decipher their legends; this method enables him to distinguish the products of a large number of mints which bear the same name, as well as to fix the geographical position of localities whose names have not been preserved. The article is accompanied by numerous wood engravings, and by a map of Touraine showing the various places of mintage.

4. "The Merovingian coins of Grenoble." A letter from M. Gustave Vallier to M. de Ponton d'Amécourt.

M. Vallier, in this monograph, collects all that is known of the numismatic history of Grenoble during the Merovingian times. It is a valuable contribution to this period of numismatic history. The essay is illustrated by a plate by Dardel.

5. "On the coinage of John IV., Duke of Brittany," by M. Lecoq-Kerneven.

6. "Numismatic map of the Dauphiné," by M. Roman.

7. "Report of M. J. Sabatier on the royal collection of Portuguese coins exhibited in the French International Exhibition of 1867."

The volume concludes with an article by M. Reynard-Lespinnasse on the *Assignats* and other paper money issued by the French Government between the years 1789 and 1796.

B. V. HEAD.

MISCELLANEA.

COINS FOUND NEAR ROSS.—In the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* for June last, will be found a notice of antiquities and coins from Ariconium, near Ross, Herefordshire, by W. C. Palmer, Esq. The coins have been examined by Mr. Bergne and Mr. Gordon M. Hills, and range over a considerable period. Among them are nine of ancient British date, including two in copper of Cunobeline. One of these is of the type, Evans, Pl. xii., No. 4, with what appears to be the

legend TASC FIL below the boar on the reverse, but unfortunately the coin, though fairly preserved and beautifully patinated, does not assist in determining the question whether the legend be undoubtedly FIL or not, as all that can be seen is III. Of the Roman coins, the earliest is one of the Cordia family, and the latest, apparently of Magnentius. There do not appear to be any coins of rarity among them, unless the legends on the obverses of two coins of Julia Mamæa and Fausta are correctly given, and not misread as IVLIA MAMMAE. AVG (Æ), and FLAVIA. FAVSTA. AVG. (Æ 3).

LIVERPOOL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.—We are glad to hear that a Society has lately been formed in Liverpool, for the purpose of furthering the knowledge of coins, medals, &c., under the title of "The Liverpool Numismatic Society." The meetings are held every first and third Tuesday evening in the month, at seven o'clock, in the Free Library, William Brown Street. The subscription is 10s. 6d. per annum, and 7s. 6d. for corresponding members. The honorary secretary is Mr. Charles Lionel Reis, Bank, 21, Lord Street, Liverpool.

COINS AND MEDALS OF OLIVER CROMWELL.—Mr. Henry W. Henfrey will be glad to forward post free to any collector, upon application, a brief printed list of Oliver Cromwell's Coins and Medals, which he is now circulating with a view to obtain additional materials for a Medallie History of Oliver Cromwell. Any information, either on this subject, or relating to Thomas Simon the medallist, will be thankfully received and acknowledged. Address—15, Eaton Place, Brighton.

ERRATA.

THE following errors in Mr. Schive's paper on the weight of English and Northern coins require correction:—

Page 43,	1st line of Table,	for 19·837	read 19·887
„ 43	23 „ „	„ 1·723	„ 1·423
„ 44	20 „ „	„ 1·05	„ 1·105
„ 46,	bottom of Table,	transpose 701·358 and	
		13·488.	
„ 56,	Note,	for Roseninge	read Roseninge.
„ 60,	line 12,	for 37·140	read 37·40.
„ 63,	line 9 from bottom,	for 417·274	read 417·291
„ 63	„ 8 „ „	„ 416·131	„ 216·181
„ 63	„ 7 „ „	„ 1·415	„ 1415



VII.

MONNAIES DES ZAMARIDES.

DYNASTES JUIFS DE BATHYRA.

L'HISTORIEN Josèphe nous a transmis sur ces dynastes d'intéressants détails que j'ai déjà utilisés dans mon "Histoire d'Hérode" (pages 332 et suivantes). Je ne saurais mieux faire que de transcrire textuellement ici le résumé que j'en ai fait dans cet ouvrage.

"Hérode n'avait pas cessé d'être inquiet au sujet des Trachonites, et pour les tenir en bride, il songea à fonder au milieu de leur pays une bourgade considérable exclusivement habitée par des juifs, qui protégeraient ses états contre les incursions de ce peuple de bandits, et qui, toujours prêts à leur courir sus, les tiendraient facilement en respect. Ayant appris par hasard qu'un juif Babylonien nommé Zamaris, qui avait passé l'Euphrate à la tête de cinq cents archers à cheval et d'une centaine de ses parents, était venu avec tout son monde à Antioche près de Daphné et que Saturninus, gouverneur de la Syrie pour les Romains, leur avait assigné pour résidence la localité nommée Oualatha, Hérode leur proposa d'entrer à son service, en leur promettant des terres situées dans la Batanée, qui confine à la Trachonite, à charge par eux de faire l'office de poste avancé pour son compte ; il s'engageait en outre à exempter de tous impôts la contrée qu'il leur assignait.—(Antiquités Judaïques, XVII. ii., 1.)

"Alléché par ces promesses séduisantes, Zamaris avec sa troupe vint se fixer dans le pays qui lui était offert, et il y bâtit immédiatement des postes défensifs et une bourgade à laquelle il donna le nom de Bathyra.

“Cet homme devint le protecteur des habitants du pays, et des caravanes juives qui faisaient le voyage de Babylone à Jérusalem, pour assister aux solennités religieuses. Beaucoup de gens vinrent se réfugier autour de cette sorte de colonie militaire, et firent du pays qu'elle habitait une nouvelle province judaïque. Elle devint extrêmement populeuse, parce qu'on pouvait y vivre dans une sécurité complète, et sans avoir d'impôts à payer au fisc. Ces immunités subsistèrent tant que vécut Hérode; après lui, son fils Philippe, devenu souverain de cette contrée, la taxa à de petites redevances, pendant un temps assez court d'ailleurs. Mais Agrippa le grand, et son fils qui porte le même nom, en pressurèrent avidement les habitants, tout en respectant leur indépendance. Les Romains, entre les mains desquels ce pays tomba après la fin du règne d'Agrippa le jeune, eurent bien aussi la prétention de conserver à ses habitants les droits qui leur avaient été concédés; mais ils leur imposèrent des tributs onéreux.”—(Antiquités Judaïques, XVII. ii., 2.)

“Lorsque le Babylonien Zamaris mourut, après avoir fourni une brillante carrière, il laissait des fils pleins d'activité et de bravoure, dont l'un, Jakim, se rendit célèbre par son énergie et par son habileté pour instruire ses compatriotes dans l'art de l'équitation. Aussi les rois de race juive eurent-ils à leur service un escadron de ces hommes qui formaient leur garde du corps. Jakim mourut vieux, et son autorité passa à son fils Philippe, qui ne fut ni moins brave ni moins renommé que ses pères. Il fut honoré de la confiance et de l'amitié du roi Agrippa; il s'était chargé d'instruire l'armée de ce prince, qui, toutes les fois qu'il entreprit une campagne, eut grand soin de le mettre à la tête de ses troupes.”—(Antiquités Judaïques, XVII. ii. 3.)

Le récit qui précède donne lieu à quelques observations nécessaires.

Saturninus fut préfet de Syrie, pendant les années 9, 8, et 7, avant J.-C.; c'est postérieurement au meurtre des deux fils qu'Hérode avait eu de la reine Mariamme, meurtre qui se place vers l'an 8 avant J.-C., que le Babylonien Zamaris, accueilli par Saturninus, fut rendu indépendant par Hérode; c'est donc en l'an 8 ou en l'an 7 avant J.-C. que fut conclu le traité qui mettait Zamaris au service du roi des juifs. Par ce traité Zamaris devenait un véritable

prince feudataire, dépendant de la couronne de Jérusalem. Le nom Zamaris est évidemment un nom hébraïque estropié. Je ne crois pas trop hasarder en y recherchant le nom זמרי, porté par plusieurs personnages de l'écriture et notamment par Zimri, roi d'Israël. La prononciation massorétique de ce nom propre ne doit pas nous arrêter, puisque les mêmes docteurs ont prononcé זמרן Zamran, le nom d'un fils d'Abraham et de Ketoura. Il est bien évident en effet que les deux noms dérivent du même radical זמר, chanter, célébrer par des chants.

La localité donnée par Saturninus à Zamaris peut se reconnaître ; sa demeure est appelée par Josèphe Ὀυαλάθα. C'est certainement la même que, dans un autre passage, relatif aux états du tétrarque Zenodore attribués à Hérode par Auguste (Ant. Jud., XV. x. 3), il nomme Ὀυαλάθα.

Il est à peine douteux qu'il s'agit des bords du Lac Samachonite, encore connus de nos jours sous le nom de Ardh-el-houleh, nom qui est de même appliqué au lac toujours appelé par les Arabes du pays, Bahr-el-houleh.

Quant à Bathyra, Βαθυρά, je ne saurais proposer son identification avec aucune localité moderne connue, et mon savant ami et confrère, Mr. Waddington, qui a parcouru avec tant de soins la Batanée, ne connaît dans ce pays aucune ruine qui puisse correspondre à la Bathyra fondée par Zamaris.

Son fils Jakim, Ἰάκειμος, portait le nom hébraïque bien connu, יקם, *Dieu l'élève*.

Si nous remarquons maintenant que ces petits dynastes furent tout-à-fait indépendants, dès l'abord, et qu'ils vécurent à une époque immédiatement rapprochée de celle où les tétrarques du même pays, Ptolémée, fils de Mennæus, Lysanias, et Zénodore, frappaient des monnaies à leur effigie et à leur nom, nous serons tout naturellement

portés à supposer que les Zamarides ont imité cet exemple, ne fût-ce que pour faire acte d'autonomie, et de libre souveraineté, comme ils en avaient le droit. Ces monnaies j'espère les avoir retrouvées, et j'en fais juge tous les Numismatistes qui voudront bien lire cette notice.

1. . I . I II — ΠΟΥ. Buste tourné à droite ; la tête est ceinte d'un large bandeau serré en forme de diadème, ou d'une espèce de turban étroit dont l'attache pend derrière le cou ; traces de grenetis.

Rev.—Α Θ — Υ Ρ —. Sphinx ailé, accroupi, tourné à gauche. Il a la tête tourelée ; grenetis grossier mais assez régulier. Æ. 22½ millimètres. Style d'une extrême grossièreté ; flan très-irrégulier et fort épais.

Cette curieuse monnaie me fut apportée en décembre 1869, à Beyrouth, avec un énorme *farrago* de monnaies antiques et cufiques, ramassées un peu partout dans le pays, et dont je fis l'acquisition en bloc. Les deux légendes de cette pièce se complètent tout naturellement et nous fournissent les noms ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ et ΒΑΘΥΡΑ. Le type du sphinx ailé parle de lui-même, et symbolise, de la manière la plus vraisemblable, la vigilance de la nation armée que commandait Philippe, et qui surveillait tous les mouvements des bandits de la Trachonite. Je ne crois donc pas me tromper en attribuant cette intéressante monnaie au dernier des Zamarides, à Philippe fils de Jakim et petit fils de Zamaris.

Pendant quelques mois je n'avais eu entre les mains que cet unique produit de l'atelier monétaire des Zamarides ; au mois de juillet dernier je reçus de mon ami Ayssa-kouboursy, de Nazareth, un petit envoi de monnaies antiques recueillies par lui à mon intention. Outre plusieurs exemplaires des rares monnaies frappées à

Tibériade par l'ordre d'Hérode-Antipas le Tétrarque, j'y trouvai une pièce d'une extrême barbarie, et qu'au premier coup d'œil je jugeai sortie du même atelier que la pièce de Philippe décrite ci-dessus. En voici la description :—

2. IAK ? Tête grossière d'homme tournée à droite et nue. Sur le cou une profonde impression rectangulaire qui est évidemment l'impreinte d'un poinçon appliqué avec une force considérable. Traces de grenétis.

Rev.—Je crois démêler le profil grossier d'une tête de femme voilée et tournée à gauche. Mais je me garderais bien d'affirmer que j'ai compris ce type à peu près méconnaissable. Æ . 24 millimètres. Style bien plus grossier encore que celui de la pièce de Philippe; flan très irrégulier et fort épais.

Si je ne me suis pas trompée en croyant les reconnaître, les lettres IAK nous fournissent le commencement de la légende IAKEIMOY. Je dois faire observer toutefois que le K ressemble plus à un X qu'à un K. Quoiqu'il en soit, les deux pièces que je viens de décrire se distinguent de toutes les monnaies antiques connues jusqu'à ce jour. Elles constituent une classe à part, ayant un caractère uniforme *sui generis*, indice certain d'une origine toute particulière. La taille de ces monnaies les rapproche étroitement de celles des rois Parthes et des rois de la Characène, et cela n'a rien que de très-naturel, si l'on songe que Zamaris avait quitté la Babylonie, pour venir se fixer en Palestine.

Espérons que de nouvelles trouvailles viendront bientôt corroborer ou renverser l'attribution que je propose aujourd'hui. Jusque là je croirai avoir enrichi la Numismatique Palestinienne des monnaies d'une dynastie nouvelle.

F. DE SAULCY.

PARIS, le 15 Octobre, 1870.

VIII.

ON SOME COINS WITH THE INSCRIPTION "TPIH."

NUMISMATISTS have been much perplexed by certain coins, specimens of which are engraved on the accompanying plate (Pl. VI. 4), which are usually ascribed to a colony of Corinth and bear on their obverse the head of Medusa facing, with the letters $\begin{smallmatrix} T & P \\ H & I \end{smallmatrix}$ within an incuse square, and on the reverse Pegasus with curled wing flying to left. Other coins of the same class bear the inscription $\begin{smallmatrix} H & T \\ I & P \end{smallmatrix}$, and several of them bear the Corinthian Φ , while a few have in its place Λ . The meaning of these letters has been much disputed. Millingen, in his "Sylloge of Ancient Inedited Coins," publishes a coin of similar size, which bears on the obverse a half Pegasus to right, and on the reverse the letters $\begin{smallmatrix} T & P \\ H & I \end{smallmatrix}$ (Pl. VI. 5), and expresses his opinion that this and similar coins belong to the Trieres of Thrace, or to Trieres in Lycia, or, finally, to Teria in Troas, no reason but the inscription being given for any of these attributions. Mr. H. P. Borrell, writing in the third volume of the Numismatic Chronicle, ascribes all the above coins to Tirida in Thrace, and adds a new variety thus described:—

Obv.—Head of Apollo laureate, left.

Rev.—Incuse square, within which a laurel branch and the letters $\begin{smallmatrix} T & P \\ H & I \end{smallmatrix}$ (Pl. VI. 6).

There are very few Greek coins exhibiting these or kindred letters thus arranged; almost the only similar inscription I can find is the letters $\begin{smallmatrix} T & P \\ I & A \end{smallmatrix}$ on the reverse of the coins of Traelium in Macedonia. This latter inscription is interesting as tending to prove that the letters on the coins I am discussing must be arranged thus, TPIH, and not thus, TPHI.

With regard to all coins with TPIH I have a new theory to propose. I need scarcely, as a preliminary, attack the opinions of Millingen and Borrell, because they confessedly go on the slight ground of the inscription only, and the φ which occurs below the Pegasus on the coins I first mentioned, proves beyond a doubt that these must have been struck at Corinth and nowhere else. I believe that all the coins I have mentioned, except the one bearing the head of Apollo, which I shall presently discuss, were struck at Corinth, and that the letters TPIH are nothing else than the beginning of the word TPIHMIΩBOΛION, proving that these coins passed for an obol and a half. The crucial test of the truth of my theory is obviously a consideration of the weight of the coins. A Corinthian trihemiobolion ought to weigh about 11·25 grains; but, of course, specimens will seldom reach that weight. I have weighed eight examples of coins with TPIH, and find that the heaviest of the eight weighs about 11·2 grains, the average weight being] 9·8 grains. This, although not altogether satisfactory, tells more for my theory than against it, especially if we reflect how prone standards are to degenerate.

One or two other circumstances in my favour may be mentioned. It seems not at all unlikely that the Corinthians may have kept the head of Medusa, as the Athenians did the owl facing, for the trihemiobolia in particular, to prevent their becoming confused with coins of another value, but not very different size. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that if ΤΡΗΗ had been the name of a place, that place would have left us so many small silver coins, all of about one weight, and no larger silver or copper coins. Nor should it be forgotten that the unmistakable word ΗΜΙΟΒΕΑΙΝ occurs on coins of Aegium in Achaia, and the words ΔΡΑΧΜΗ and ΔΙΔΡΑΧΜΟΝ on many coins of Nero and others struck at Ephesus. Specimens of these are engraved in Plate VI. 8 and 9.

With regard to Mr. Borrell's coin, which bears the head of Apollo to left, and the letters ΤΡΗΗ; this I should also be inclined to call a trihemiobolion in spite of its light weight of scarcely more than seven grains, which can only be accounted for on the supposition of a late date, and a singular degradation of standard. And as its style bears a striking resemblance to that of the coins of Chalcidice, it seems possible that it may have been current in that district.

If, however, I have at all made out my case, and it be granted that the denomination of a coin may fairly be looked for on its face, a good deal of light is thrown on other difficult inscriptions. For instance, the letters ΔΙ or ΔΙΟ, which occur on the reverses of many coins of Corinth which bear a Pegasus on both faces (see Plate VI. Fig. 2), may fairly be supposed to stand for ΔΙΩΒΟΛΟΝ, and in this case the weight corresponds more nearly than before. Two examples which I have chosen weigh respectively 12·7 and 13 grains. The great Δ which forms the reverse of the Corinthian coins (Pl. VI. 3), the obverse of which

bears a horse's head to left, and ϕ , may show these also to be diobola, and their weight (about 14 grains) confirms this conjecture. It will be remembered that a diobol of Corinth in perfect preservation ought to weigh about 15 grains. There are still other coins of Corinth bearing on the obverse Bellerophon on Pegasus, and on the reverse the Chimaera and the letters ΔI (See Plate VI., Fig. 1). By analogy one might conclude that these were didrachms; but it must be added that the weight (from 52 to 60 grains) would rather show that they were of the value of a drachm and a half, or a drachm after the Attic standard. Perhaps other students may be able to explain this difficulty.

I must mention what I am disposed to think another mistaken attribution caused by a determination to make the letters on coins stand for nothing but the name of a place. Among the coins of Dardanus are usually placed some which seem to have small business there (*cf.* Plate VI., Fig. 7). These may be thus described:—

Obv.—Head of Heracles bearded, facing, in lion's skin.

Rev.—Bow and quiver of Heracles crossed, and the letters
 $\begin{array}{c} > > \\ \text{Я} \end{array}$ in a shallow incuse. Weight about
 35 grains.

All the other coins of Dardanus are so different from this, that I cannot help thinking that it must be a drachm of Corinthian standard, though a doubt must still remain as to where it was struck. The attributes of Heracles and the incuse seem to point towards Thessaly, but the form of the R towards Italy or Sicily. I confess myself unable to determine to what place these coins ought to be ascribed, but that they ought not to be ascribed to Dardanus seems little less than certain.

PERCY GARDNER.

IX.

ON SOME RARE GREEK COINS RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE coins which I have the honour to bring before the notice of the Society this evening have been recently purchased by the Department of coins and medals in the British Museum. The following is a short description :—

AVRVNCA. Campaniæ.

Obv.—Head of Apollo laureate to left, behind neck ☉.

Rev.—Dolphin to right, above $\Delta \Upsilon \Delta Y \Delta$, (?) below $\Sigma \Pi \Delta \times \Pi \Delta$ and club. Æ. 7 in. (Pl. VI., No. 1).

This curious coin, which Friedlaender, in his “Oskischen Münzen,” classes among the unascertained, has been attributed by Garrucci (Bulletino arch. nap. nv. sr. I. 65 sq.) to the town of Aurunca in Campania. This town was founded by Auson, the son of Odysseus and Kalypso. The Aurunci are supposed to have been the same people as the Ausones. Suessa Aurunca was a colony from this city.

The word Makdiis or Makkiis on the reverse is supposed by Friedlaender to be a magistrate’s name, the ending *iis* corresponding to the Latin *ius*. The word would thus be analogous to the Latin Magidius or Maccius, and is in all probability an Oscan family name.

The bad preservation of the few known specimens of this type has been the great obstacle to their satisfactory attribution. There can be little doubt however that

Garrucci has correctly read the word Aurunk on the reverse, and for further information respecting the city of Aurunca I can do no better than refer the reader to his paper mentioned above.

TRAPEZOS. Ponti.

Obv.—Male head to left wearing close beard, the whole in dotted circle.

Rev.—TPA Table, above which a bunch of grapes. *R.* .7 in. Weight, 88 grains (Pl. VI., No. 3).

Obv.—Same as preceding.

Rev.—TPA Table, but no grapes. *R.* .5 in. Weight 22 grains (Pl. VI., No. 4).

The autonomous coins of the city of Trapezos in Pontos are of extreme rarity. They are curious as affording an example of the device upon the coinage, viz., a table, suggested by the name of the town. The city of Trapezos on the coast of Pontos was a flourishing commercial town, a colony from Sinope. Its name may be derived from its position, cut out of the declivity of a mountain, and forming a sort of table land; or, possibly, from the city of Arkadia bearing the same name, and from which it was said to have been colonized previously to its foundation or re-colonization from Sinope. The town attained to great wealth and importance under the Roman Empire, and has bequeathed its name to the modern Trebizond. The bunch of grapes upon the table perhaps contains an allusion to the fertility of the district and the abundance of fruit.

MITHRADATES III., King of Pontos.

Obv.—Bust of Mithradates III. to right filleted.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ Zeus aëtophoros on throne to left. In field to left crescent and star, to right mon. $\overline{\Lambda}$, under throne $\overline{\text{M}}$. *R.* 1.25 in. Weight 264.7 grains (Pl. VI., No. 2).

Mithradates III. was king of Pontos from B.C. 302-266. The beginning of the Pontic era afterwards adopted by the kings of the Kimmerian Bosporos is to be ascribed to some event which took place during this reign in B.C. 297. The star and the crescent on the reverse are perhaps symbols of the sun and moon, and may allude to the ancient religion of the Persians, from whom the kings of Pontos were descended. Cf. the name Mithradates from the Persian word *Mithra* "the sun," and the root *da*, signifying "given by the sun." This coin is in a perfect state of preservation, and the portrait of the king is full of life. Vide Visconti Icon. grec. II. p. 168.

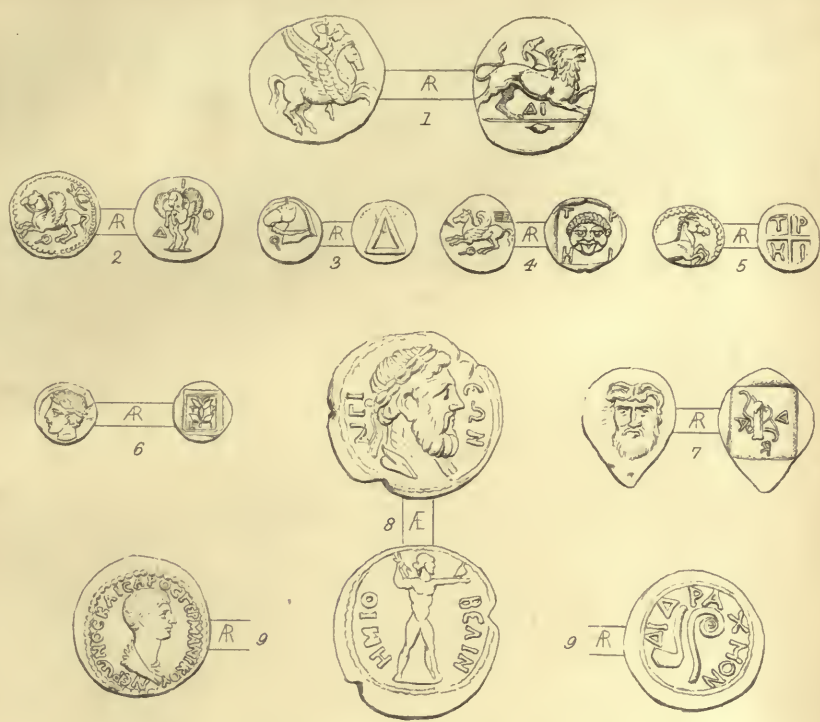
LYKIA.

Obv.—Lion reclining to left, his head turned back and mouth open.

Rev.—Human figure with bear's head kneeling to right, right hand extended, left raised, the whole in oblong incuse. *Æ.* .85 in. Weight, 154.9 grains (Pl. VI., No. 2).

This remarkable coin is of a type hitherto entirely unknown; it is of the archaic period of art. The figure with the head of the bear may be intended to represent a divinity, the bear, like the stag and the boar, being a symbol of Artemis; cf. the story of Kallisto, the companion of Artemis, who was changed into a bear. Gerhard "Gr. Myth.," § 340. The bear was probably as common on the mountains of Lykia when this coin was struck, in the sixth century B.C., as it is at the present day (see Sir Charles Fellows' "Discoveries in Lycia," p. 158). The type of this Lykian coin reminds us of the fragment of a frieze from the obelisk tomb at Xanthos, now preserved in the Lykian room of the British Museum, upon which is represented a horseman killing a bear.

BARCLAY V. HEAD.



COINS WITH THEIR DENOMINATION ON THE REVERSE.



F. J. Lee.

X.

ACCOUNT OF A FIND OF ROMAN COINS AT LUTTERWORTH;

WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE PRESENT PRACTICE OF THE
TREASURY WITH REGARD TO TREASURE TROVE.

THE coins which are described in the following list were discovered some time in the summer of 1869 at the town of Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester. It appeared to me then that a useless air of mystery was thrown over the circumstances of the find, because the coins have no intrinsic value; so that the fear of interference, which usually hedges the mind of the finder on occasions like this, was really quite needless. If that, however, be true, which was whispered at the time, that we possess in those which are here enumerated only a portion of the find, and that some of larger module once formed part of it, then reasons for secrecy may have presented themselves to others, which it is impossible for me to measure; but the mention of such a fact, as a possible cause of influence, may tempt us to consider whether all is now being done, which might be done, to effect a wise and equitable disposal of objects found in a similar manner. As regards this particular find, those coins which I obtained are, without exception, the common "billon" and "petit bronze" of the middle of the third century. Indeed the mass might be

thought so common as to make a description of them in the pages of the Chronicle scarcely worth setting up in type, were it not obviously useful to the collector to see the relative rarity of the rarer coins in every well-authenticated find. I have consequently been led to look back into the records of past finds which we possess in our Society's Proceedings. By doing so one gets a clear perception of the scarcity in England of the money of the usurpers, Marius and Quintillus, a fact which Mr. Akerman noticed many years ago in his work on "Rare and Inedited Roman Coins." (Vol. ii. pp. 68—90. 1861.) Were it not for the more abundant supply which comes to us from abroad, I suspect many English collections would distinctly show traces of this scarcity. Perhaps even some of those coins which, in Cohen's "*Monnaies Romaines*," are now marked "common," would be perceived not to be so, were inquiry made for them in London, and not in Paris. The table which I present with this list of the Lutterworth coins, exhibits statistics constituting the ground upon which this remark is based. There it may be seen that in the accounts preserved in the pages of the Chronicle of fifteen finds of Roman money of the later part of the third century, including many thousand coins, there are noted but thirty-four of the unfortunate pretender Quintillus, and only fourteen of the usurper Marius.

LIST OF ROMAN COINS, BILLON, OR THIRD BRASS, FOUND
AT LUTTERWORTH.

References to Cohen's "*Monnaies Romaines*."

VOLUSIAN.

CONCORDIA AVGG. 1 (Cohen, 12, without a
star in the field.)

VALERIAN.

APOLLINI CONSERVA	1 (Cohen, 17.)
DEO VOLKANO	1 ¹
ORIENS AVG	1 (Cohen, 83.)

GALLIENUS.

ABVNDANTIA AVG	1 (Cohen, 28.)
AETERNITAS AVG	1 (Cohen, 41.)
APOLLINI CONS AVG	5 (Cohen, 58, 59, and 61.)
CONCORDIA	1
DIANAE CONS AVG	4 (Cohen, 108, 109.)
FELICIT AVG.	2 (Cohen, 121.)
FORTVNA REDVX	2 (Cohen, 169.)
IOVI CONS AVG	1 (Cohen, 204.)
LAETITIA AVG	1 (Cohen, 250.)
MARTI PACIF	2 (Cohen, 352.)
PAX AVG	1 (Cohen, 390.)
PIETAS AVG	1 (Cohen, 415.)
PROVID AVG	3 (Cohen, 468.)
SECVR TEMPO	1 (Cohen, 519.)
SECVRIT PERPET (N in field)	1 (Cohen, 518.)
VBERITAS AVG	1 (Cohen, 541.)
VICTORIA AVG	1 (Cohen, 588.)
VICTORIA AET	2 (Cohen, 577.)
VICT ? ?	1
VIRTVS AVG	2 (Cohen, 673.)
VIRTVS AVGVSTI	1 (Cohen, 694.)
DIVO SEVERO	1 (Restored coin of S. Severus.)

SALONINA.

IVNO REGINA	1 (Cohen, 48.)
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SALONINUS.

PIETAS AVG	1 (Cohen, 27.)
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¹ Placed by Cohen under "Valérien Jeune," No. 1.

POSTUMUS.

CONCORD EQVIT	2	(Cohen, 13.)
FELICITAS AVG.	2	(Cohen, 27.)
HERC DEVSONIENSI	2	(Cohen, 44.)
HERC PACIFERO	1	(Cohen, 46.)
LAETITIA [AVG]	1	(Cohen, 83.)
MINERVA FAVTR	1	(Cohen, 256.)
MONETA AVG	4	(Cohen, 91.)
NEPTVNO REDVCI.	2	(Cohen, 93.)
ORIENS AVG	1	(Cohen, 95.)
PAX AVG	10	(Cohen, 266 : six have the letter P in the field.)
PM TR P COS II PP	3	(Cohen, 114.)
PM TR P III COS III PP	1	(Cohen, 121.)
PM TR P VIII COS III PP	1	(Cohen, 126.)
PROVIDENTIA AVG	2	(Cohen, 136.)
SAECVLI FELICITAS	1	(Cohen, 156.)
SAECVLO FRVGIFERO	1	(Cohen, 157.)
SALVS AVG	1	(Cohen, 161.)
VICTORIA AVG	1	(Cohen, 181.)

 37

VICTORINUS.

AEQVITAS AVG	1	(Cohen, 6.)
FIDES MILITVM	1	(Cohen, 21.)
INVICTVS (* in field)	25	(Cohen, 29.)
PAX AVG	29	(Cohen, 48.)
PIETAS AVG	19	(Cohen, 51.)
PROVIDENTIA AVG	8	(Cohen, 57.)
(a) SALVS AVG	28	(Cohen, 65.)
(β) " "	13	(Cohen, 70.)
VICTORIA AVG	1	(Cohen, 75.)
VIRTVS AVG	9	(Cohen, 80.)
Illegible	1	

 126

MARIUS.

VICTORIA AVG 1 (Cohen, 16.)

TETRICUS, SENIOR.

COMES AVG 1 (Cohen, 46.)

LAETITIA AVG 2 (Cohen, 71.)

VICTORIA AVG 1 (Cohen, 116.)

VOTA PVBLICA 1 (Cohen, 120.)

Illegible 1

6

TETRICUS, JUNIOR.

PIETAS AVG 1 (Cohen, 26.)

Illegible 1

2

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

AEQVIT 2 (Cohen, 29.)

ANNOA AVG 3 (Cohen, 38.)

CONSECRATIO (no letter in ex-
ergue) 1 (Cohen, 50.)

FELICITAS AVG 2 (Cohen, 267.)

FIDES EXERCI 3 (Cohen, 74.)

FIDES MILIT 1 (Cohen, 75.)

AVG 1

GENIVS EXERCI 2 (Cohen, 94.)

VICTOR 1 (Cohen, 101.)

MARS VLTOR 1 (Cohen, 121.)

PAX AVG 4 (Cohen, 146.)

PM TR P II COS PP 1 (Cohen, 153.)

PROVIDENT AVG 2 (Cohen, 165.)

SECVRIT AVG. 1 (Cohen, 193.)

VICTORIA AVG 1 (Cohen, 209.)

VIRTVS AVG 5 (Cohen, 223; and one
has S in the exergue.)

Illegible 2

33

QUINTILLUS.

MARTI PACIF	1	(Cohen, 38.)
PROVIDENT AVG	2	(Cohen, 45.2)
SECVRIT AVG	2	(Cohen, 47.)
VICTORIA AVG	1	(Cohen, 52.)
VIRTVS AVG	1	(Cohen, 55.)

 7

SUMMARY.

Volusian	1
Valerian	3
Gallienus	36
Salonina	1
Saloninus	1
Postumus	37
Victorinus	126
Marius	1
Tetricus, senior	6
Tetricus, junior	2
Claudius Gothicus	33
Quintillus	7

 254

² This coin differs slightly from No. 45. Providence is here represented with *hasta* in left hand.

	Deal, 1832.	Strood, 1839.	Thames, 1834—41.	Shotover, 1842.	Oundle, 1844.	Frampton, 1844.	Dijon, 1845.	Candebeec, 1846.	Forest of Dean, 1847.	Evenley, 1854.	Wroxeter, 1859.	Vernham.	Luton, 1862.	Chedworth Wood, 1864.	Walmouth.
Volusian	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	×	×	—	—	1	—	—	—
Valerian	2	—	—	—	29	—	—	×	×	322	—	3	31	—	—
Gallienus	42	4	36	×	5	×	—	{ 650	×	19	—	19	130	—	—
Salonina	8	1	—	×	—	×	—	×	×	—	—	3	17	—	—
Saloninus	1	—	—	×	—	—	—	×	×	—	—	—	14	—	—
Postumus	13	2	3	×	9 ⁽²⁾	—	137	6500	×	—	—	7	205	—	—
Victorinus	9	1	43	×	353	×	98	×	×	8	—	6	106	2	2
Marius	2 ^a	—	2 ^b	×	5 ^e	—	—	4	—	—	—	1 ¹	1 ⁿ	—	—
Tetricus, Senr. . . .	11	—	{ 41	×	431	×	{ 228	—	×	6	1	10	—	3	—
" Junr.	6	—	38	×	198	—	—	—	×	4	—	3	—	—	—
Claud. Gothic	27	5	5 ^c	×	34	—	—	×	×	293	1	13	32	—	—
Quintillus	—	—	—	—	6 ^f	×	—	—	—	21	—	2 ^m	—	—	—
							g		i	k			o	p	

(a) "Concord. Milit.," and "Sæc. Felicitas."

(b) "Concordia Milit.," and "Victoria Aug."

(c) "Martii Pacif.," "Concord. Exer.," "Concord. Militum," "Fortuna Aug."

(d) Where the X is marked in the column the varieties are named, but the number is not stated.

(e) "Sæculi Felicit.," "Concord Milit.," "Victoria Aug."

(f) "Æternitas Aug.," "Securitas Aug."

(g) In all 70.

(h) "Of subsequent emperors and usurpers, from one to three."

(i) In all about 5,000, but the numbers of each not stated.

(k) 3,153.

(l) "Victoria Aug."

(m) "Fort Redux," "Victoria Aug."

(n) "Victoria Aug."

(o) 800 or 1,000.

(p) These were finds of later emperors chiefly.

** In Roach Smith's account of "Coins found at Richborough,"—two of Quintillus, and one of Marius are noted.

I am now tempted to speak again of that veil of mystery which was drawn over the discovery of the Lutterworth hoard, in order that I may raise a question, which apparently it is high time some one did raise. I mean this, does the assertion of the Crown's right to objects of archæological interest, as treasure trove, work beneficially in the interests of the branch of historical research which the Numismatic Society fathers? Without pretending to go into the law of the case, we all know, in a general way, what has been the exercise of this right, on the part of the Crown, in ancient times; and in that which follows, I venture not to dispute the legality of a claim which demands for the sovereign whatever natural or hidden treasure may be found lying buried in the soil.³ Nor does the claim surprise us. When gold and silver, in bulk, were habitually secreted, in consequence of that general feeling of insecurity which unsettled times begot, it might be foolish and profitless, but it was not unfair for a prince like Richard II. to cause search after search to be made for supposed buried treasure, that he might add to his revenue.⁴ The actual owners of the deposit had passed away from life, and no one but the king had better claim to it,

³ In the laws of Edward the Confessor, chap. xiv., "all treasure found in the earth is declared to belong to the king, except it should be discovered in a church, or in a churchyard, in which case the king should have the gold, and one-half of the silver, the other moiety to be taken by the church where it was found, whether it were rich or poor."—(Ruding, vol. i. p. 141, quoting Wilkins.)

⁴ Among other expedients to procure money, a writ was issued for the discovering of black money, and other subterraneous treasure hidden of old in the county of Southampton, in whosoever hands it might be, and to seize it for the king's use (Pat. i., R. ii., pt. 3, m. 35 dors). He afterwards claimed black money to the amount of 150 lbs. of full weight, which

for in him lay the original title to the soil. But within the last few years the exercise of this right has taken a new form, and now the strong hand of power is stretched forth to get hold, not of sums which might fill the coffers of a king, enabling him perhaps to remit taxation or defend his coasts, but of sums absolutely insignificant, in relation to such objects. It takes possession even of a few hundred old silver coins, of no intrinsic importance as bullion; their worth lying, not in the value of the metal out of which they were made, but in the light they shed on local or general history—the light which chiefly gives them lustre in our eyes. Further, it is urged that this is done in the interests of the public and for the benefit of scientific and historical inquiry. In strictness it cannot be denied that the original right of the Crown may be held to cover this novel use of it; but it is rather on the grounds of public interest that this reassertion of the right has been recently advanced; and it is on precisely the same grounds that I venture to question it. It had been alleged by those in authority, and I believe with reason, that from time to time many objects of ancient art were being discovered, and that doubt as to the ownership, on the part of the discoverer, led frequently to public loss; such secrecy being observed on the part of those into whose hands these things were falling, that unless there happened to be in the neighbourhood some collector of antiquities, the precious metal quickly found its way to the melting-pot, as did the proceeds thereof into the pockets of the finder. In Ireland especially was this occurring;

had been found in that county, as belonging to him in right of his crown (Cl. i. R. ii., m. 17).—Ruding, vol. i. p. 236.

By this it appears that coined money other than of gold or silver has been made the subject of the Crown's claim.

hence a common wail over art treasures of ancient times lost for ever, and hence this trial of a remedy, through the Crown's unquestionable claim to treasure trove.

Under these circumstances, a few years ago, the Treasury issued an order, by which the police were authorised to obtain possession of anything and everything found, if formed of gold or silver, whether coin or other relics of antiquity. This order has been put into force, and accordingly several finds of coins have been secured for the Crown. Let me speak particularly of one—the recital shows the need of the question I raise, or it must be admitted I have no case. In the autumn of 1867 a discovery was made of mediæval coins at Stamford, in Lincolnshire. It consisted of about 2,700 silver groats of the Henries and Edwards of the fifteenth century. The news of a discovery quickly spread. Possession of the hoard was taken by the police; an officer of the Treasury in a trice came down and carried off the prize, and in due course the bullion value of the coins was paid to the finder, a working man. His neighbours doubtless thought him happy; but I have been assured he nearly died of the delight, the shock to his nervous system was so severe. The coins were next transferred from the Treasury to the Medal Room of the British Museum, and the gentlemen engaged there did as they were desired to do, by selecting for the national collection such varieties as were wanted. Now, excepting that over-dose of luck which befell the finder, up to this point no harm seems to have been done; but let us observe the sequel, for upon it am I tempted to rest my complaint. The hoard, conveyed again to the Treasury, has been lying there from that day to this; *it has never been accurately described*, and apparently never will be, for no competent Numismatist has been authorised to

draw up any statement of the find. Owing to circumstances, I greatly question now whether this could be done. Several offers to purchase the coins in the mass, at the valuation put on them by the President of this Society, having been refused, about two thousand coins still remain at the Treasury, and will probably continue to lie there, without ever fulfilling the use they were capable of being put to, under different rule.⁵ This is greatly to be regretted, because this Stamford find is one which might have been of great use; it bore distinctly on that examination of the coins of Henry IV., V., and VI., which has lately engaged the attention of several members of this Society; it contained the latest Henry VI. and the earliest Edward IV. groats, in large numbers; and associated together with them were many hundred of those issued by the Calais mint.

Yet in no appreciable degree is numismatic study the better for this important find; and, as I repeat, it might have been so. To any who have employed themselves in such inquiries I need hardly say that the opportunity of examining a hoard of ancient coins in the mass is most interesting and most important. Opinions regarding half-settled questions can often be established by means of that examination, and by no other. And although the mere collector may be able, by the existing regulations, to obtain specimens of a particular find, any one of us who aspires to determine some of the

⁵ It is fair to say that such of the public as can gain access to the Treasury, with a view to purchase coins, may obtain specimens of this find at a shilling a piece! This price leaves a margin of profit not to be despised, as the metallic value of the pieces in question is not much more than sevenpence; but how strange a sight it is to see Government officials of the highest respectability acting as retail dealers!

undetermined points which still perplex English Numismatists, must make the attempt without the assistance a better system would ensure.

The orders issued by the Treasury were well intended, doubtless, and their occasional effect may be to save from destruction objects which otherwise would have been lost to us; but we may reasonably ask for more than the preservation of such objects from the crucible of the silversmith; they ought to minister to those investigations in which the Numismatic Society is engaged. At present they often do not; and so far from their having been put to useful purpose of the highest kind, the coins of this Stamford hoard might just as well be lying at the present moment under the door-step where they were discovered. In my opinion a remedy for this could be obtained, which would satisfy alike the claim of the Crown and the reasonable interests of the public.

These last I take to be vested in, or represented by—firstly, the national collection in the British Museum; secondly, the person of the finder; thirdly, the owner of the soil, whose right to some share of the plunder is now absolutely ignored; and though last named, not least in my thoughts, that outsider, the coin student, who makes it his business to draw out facts, from a heap of ancient money, which, in a humble way, may be regarded as part of the history of the country. Why, may it not be asked, as soon as the British Museum has made its selection, should not a hoard of ancient coins be sold by public auction, under the authority of the Treasury, to the highest bidder? Whatever value they might have beyond their intrinsic value would thus be secured. Let a portion of this go, of right, to the finder; another portion to the owner of the soil, with opportunity, if he so pleases, for

taking some of the coins themselves, by agreement with the purchaser ; and let a third portion be retained by the Treasury, to defray such incidental expenditure as may be connected with the transaction.

Some such plan as this would, I believe, secure the end held in view, as well as others which at present seem to be disregarded. The coins would find their way at once to the hands of those who want them, and can turn them to account, and interests which are clearly in conflict now, would then be conspiring for a common end.

ASSHETON POWNALL.

P.S.—Since this paper was written another find of Roman coins (denarii of the early emperors, in a fine state preservation) has been made in Leicestershire ; and as regards them too, the worthlessness of the existing regulations was clearly seen. They were quickly dispersed, and no one to this day knows how many were found, or what has become of the bulk of them.

XI.

UNPUBLISHED ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS.

I USE the expression “unpublished,” as I do not find these coins described or referred to by M. Cohen, either in the body of his very comprehensive and carefully compiled work, or in the *Supplément* (Paris, 1868).

Some of them may, possibly, be described or mentioned in other works, or may be found in sale-catalogues ; but if so, the fact has escaped my researches.

In some instances, the variations from coins described by Cohen are very slight ; but any such may, perhaps, be considered worth noting by a Numismatic Society.

To the list (which is incomplete, and in making which I have omitted some suspected of having been altered) of coins in my own collection, I subjoin that of the extraordinary series of unpublished Roman Imperial coins to be found among the ample stores of our fellow-member, Mr. F. W. Lincoln, of New Oxford Street, to whose scrupulous accuracy and indefatigable industry I am bound to bear testimony, as well as to acknowledge my obligations to his kindness in furnishing me with the results of his investigations, and with every assistance.

T. JONES.

LLANERCHRUGOG HALL,
N. Wales, Jan., 1871.

I.

1. Augustus. Æ 2. *Obv.*—IMP. CAESAR DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS IMP. XX. Bare head, to right.

Rev.—PONTIF. MAXIM. TRIBVN. POT. XXXIII. S.C. in field; crescent above.

As Cohen 271, but with the extraordinary addition of the crescent, which is large, over the S.C., which is small.

It may be remarked that IMP occurs twice on the obverse: so Cohen.

2. Tiberius. Æ. 1. *Obv.*—Laureate head of Tiberius to left. TI CAES

Rev.—Head of Agrippina to right. AGRIPPINA

This unique coin is not in Cohen, but is particularly described by Burgon in the Pembroke Catalogue, also by Haym; and referred to by Eckhel and Smyth.

3. Caius Cæsar (grandson of Augustus). Æ. *Obv.*—CAESAR. Bare head, within a laurel-wreath, to right.

Rev.—AVGVSTI. Candelabrum, within garland of flowers, bucrania, and patera.

4. Nero. Æ 2. *Obv.*—NERO. CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. GER. P.M. TR. P. IMP. Bare head, to right.

Rev.—GENIO AVGVSTI. Genius, sacrificing, to left. (No. S.C. So Coh. *Suppl.*, p. 31: with different *obv.*)

5. Julia Titi. Æ 2. *Obv.*—IVLIA IMP. T. AVG. F. AVGVSTA. Head to right.

Rev.—S.C. Vesta (not veiled) seated to left. VESTA. in exergue.

6. Trajan. Æ 1. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. NERVA TRAIAN. AVG. GERM. P.M. Laureate head to right.

Rev.—TR. POT. COS. IIII. P.P. Emperor, on prancing horse, to right. In exergue S.C.

7. Trajan. Æ 1. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC. P.M. TR. P. COS. VI. P.P. Laureate head to right. *Ægis very large and peculiar.*

Rev.—SENATVS POPVLVSQUE ROMANVS. S.C. Peace or Felicity (Coh. 389) standing to left.

This coin was exhibited at a meeting of the Numismatic Society last year. Our friend, M. Gaston Feuardent, kindly offered to take it to Paris, wishing to show it to M. Cohen; and informed me on his return that that gentleman had never seen it before, and regarded it as of much interest.

I have a second-brass of Trajan which exhibits a similar large ægis.

8. Trajan. Æ 2. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. NERVA TRAIAN. AVG. GERM. DACICVS. P.M. Laureate head to right.

Rev.—TR. P. VII. IMP. IIII. COS IIII. DES. V.P.P. Victory stepping on globe to left. S.C.

9. Antoninus Pius. Æ 1. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P.P. Laureate head, to right.

Rev.—TR. POT. COS. II. Abundance standing to left; prow to right; modius to left. S.C. (Cf. Coh. *Suppl.* p. 153.)

10. Antoninus Pius. Æ 1. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P.P. Bare head to right.

Rev.—TR. POT. COS. II. Peace, standing, to left. S.C.

11. Antoninus Pius. Æ. 1. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P.P. TR. P. XI. Laureate head to right.

Rev.—DIVA FAVSTINA. Head of Faustina to right.

Cohen, who values the coin at 100 francs, has TR. P. COS. III. t. ii. p. 415; same obv. 657.

12. Antoninus Pius. Æ. 1. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P. P. Laureate head to right.

Rev.—IMPERATOR. II. Female figure, holding ears of corn and basket of fruit, standing to right. S.C. (Cf. Coh. 617, 631.)

13. Faustina I. Æ 1. *Obv.*—DIVA FAVSTINA. Head to right.

Rev.—AETERNITAS. Eternity (?), standing to left, holding butterfly (?). S.C.

14. Faustina I. Æ 1. *Obv.*—Same obv.

Rev.—PIETAS AVG. Female figure standing to left, sacrificing, and holding box. S.C.

15. Marcus Aurelius. Æ 1. *Obv.*—[M?] ANTONINVS AVG. ARMENIACVS. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—VICT. AVG. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. II. Victory, with trophy, standing to right, Armenian captive at foot. S.C. Coh. 787. (COS. III.)
16. M. Aurelius. Æ 11½. *Obv.*—Medallion. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. ARMENIACVS. P. M. Laureate head, to right.
Rev.—TR. P. XX. IMP. III. COS. III.? Emperor, standing, to left, Victory approaching him.
17. M. Aurelius. Æ. 1. *Obv.*—M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXXIII. Laureate bust, *with cuirass*, to right.
Rev.—FELICITAS AVG. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P. P. Felicity standing to left. S.C.
18. M. Aurelius. Æ 1. *Obv.*—M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. ARMENIACVS. P. M. Laureate head to left, bust bare.
Rev.—TR. POT. XIX. IMP. III. COS. III. Providence standing to left, large globe at foot. S.C.
19. M. Aurelius. Æ 1. *Obv.*—IMP. M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXV. Laureate head to right, *bust draped*.
Rev.—VOTA. SOL. DECENN: Emperor, veiled, sacrificing, to left.
20. M. Aurelius. Æ 1. *Obv.*—M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXXIII. Laureate head, to right, *bust bare*.
Rev.—VIRTVS AVG. IMP. X. COS. III. P. P. Valour seated to right. S.C.
21. Faustina II. Æ 2. *Obv.*—FAVSTINAE AVG. PII. AVG. FIL. Head to *left*.
Rev.—VENVS. Venus standing to left. S.C.
22. Commodus. Æ. 1. *Obv.*—M. COMMODVS ANTON. AVG. PIVS. BRIT. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—P.M. TR. P.X. IMP. VII. COS. . . In exergue, ITALIA. Italy seated on globe to left. S.C.

23. Geta. Æ 1. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. P. SEPT. GETA
PIVS AVG. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—CONCORDIAE AVGG? Caracalla and
Geta standing, crowned by two Victories. In
exergue, S.C. (Cf. Coh. 128.)
24. Geta. Æ 1. *Obv.*—(Size 9¾.) P. SEPTIMIVS GETA
CAESAR. Head to right.
Rev.—PONTIF. COS. II. Minerva, seated to right,
feeding serpent twined round olive-tree; owl on
buckler. In exergue, S.C.¹
25. Macrinus. Æ 1. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. M. OPEL. SEV.
MACRINVS AVG. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—SALVS PVBL. P. M. TR. P. Salus seated to
left, feeding serpent. In exergue, S.C. (See
Coh. 115, *note.*)
26. Gordian. III. Æ 1. *Obv.*—IMP. GORDIANVS PIUS.
FEL. AVG. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—SECVRITAS. AVG. Security seated to left.
No. S.C.
27. Philip II. Æ 1. *Obv.*—IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS
AVG. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—SAECVLARES AVGG. *Stag* standing to left.
In exergue, S.C.
28. Philip II. Æ 1. *Obv.*—Same *obv.*
Rev.—LIBERALITAS AVG. III. Two emperors seated
on curule chairs, to left, holding out their right
hands. In exergue, S.C. (Cf. Coh. 56, "tenant
chacun un sceptre.")
29. Aurelian. Æ 5¼. *Obv.*—Medallion. IMP. AVRELIA-
NVS. AVG. Radiate head to right.
Rev.—IOVI CONSERVATORR (*sic*, double-struck). Ju-
piter standing to left, emperor and another
figure to right. In exergue, two stars, and
QQ?

¹ Cf. Coh., 152. This coin (medallion?), which is in rather poor condition, is stated to have been found in Cannon Street, City.

II.

COINS IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. F. W. LINCOLN.

1. Julius Cæsar. Æ 2. *Obv.*—DIVOS IVLIVS. Laureate head of Julius to right.
Rev.—CAESAR DIVI F. Bare head of Augustus to right. Star of six rays to right.
2. Augustus. Æ 2. *Obv.*—IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. AVGVSTVS IMP. XX. Head to left.
Rev.—PONTIF. MAXIM. TRIBVNI. POT. XXXIII. S.C.
3. Nero. Æ 3. *Obv.*—NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. GER Laureate head to right.
Rev.—Neptune standing to left. S.C.
4. Galba. Æ 2. *Obv.*—SER. GALBA IMP. CAESAR AVG. Laureate head to left.
Rev.—PAX AVGVSTI. Peace standing to left. S.C.
5. Titus. Æ. *Obv.*—T. CAESAR IMP. VESP. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—PONTIF. TR. P. COS. III. Titus seated to right, holding sceptre and branch.
6. Titus. Æ 2. *Obv.*—T. CAESAR VESPAS. TR. P. COS. VI. Laureate head to left.
Rev.—VICTORIA NAVALIS. Victory stepping on prow to right. S.C.
7. Domitian. Æ 2. *Obv.*—CAESAR AVG. F. DOMITIANVS COS. DES. II. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—PAX AVGVSTI. Peace standing to left. S.C.
8. Domitia. Æ 4. *Obv.*—IMP. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. CO. Head of Domitia to right.
Rev.—Tripod? S.C.
9. Nerva. Æ 2. *Obv.*—IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. IIII. P. P. Radiate head to right.
Rev.—IMP. II. COS. IIII. P. P. Abundance standing to left. S.C.

10. Hadrian. Æ 2. *Obv.*—HADRIANVS AVG. COS. . .
Laureate head to right.
Rev.—FELICITAS AVGVSTI. Emperor and Felicity
joining hands. In exergue, S.C.
11. Sabina. Æ 2. *Obv.*—SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI
AVG. P. P. Head to left, "avec la queue."
Rev.—PIETAS. Piety seated to left. In exergue, S.C.
12. Sabina. Æ 2. *Obv.*—SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI
AVG. P. P. Head to right, "avec la queue,"
Rev.—Vesta seated to left. S.C. (Cf. Coh. 71, "avec la
queue.")
13. Ælius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—L. AELIVS CAESAR. Bust, in
paludamentum, to right.
Rev.—TR. POT. COS. II. Salus seated to left. S.C.
14. Antoninus Pius. Æ. *Obv.*—IMP. CAES. T. AEL. HAD.
ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P. P. Laureate
head to right.
Rev.—TR. POT. XV. COS. IIII. Female figure standing
to right, and holding basket of fruit and uncertain
object. In exergue, PIETAS.
15. Antoninus Pius. Æ. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS.
P. P. TR. P. XVIII. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—FELICITATI AVG. COS. IIII. Felicity stand-
ing to left.
16. Antoninus Pius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG.
PIVS. P. P. TR. P. . . . Laureate head to
right.
Rev.—TEMPL. DIVI. . . . Octostyle temple; two figures
seated within. S.C. In exergue, COS. IIII.
17. Antoninus Pius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG.
PIVS. P. P. Radiate head to right.
Rev.—TEMPL. DIVI AVG. REST. Same. (Cf. Coh.
842.)
18. Antoninus Pius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG.
PIVS. P. P. TR. P. XVI. Radiate head to
left.
Rev.—COS. IIII. Salus standing to left, S.C. (Cf.
Coh. 791, 2.)

19. Antoninus Pius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG.
PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. IIII. Laureate head
to right.
Rev.—PIETAS AVG. Piety standing to left. S.C.
(Cf. Coh. 710.)
20. Antoninus Pius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—ANTONINVS AVG.
PIVS P. P. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—TR. POT. COS. II. Bonus Eventus (with cornu-
copiæ, and *not* nude) sacrificing, to left. S.C.
(Cf. Coh. 860.)
21. Antoninus Pius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—Same obv.
Rev.—TR. POT. COS. III. Nude figure sacrificing, to
left. S.C.
22. Antoninus Pius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—Same obv.
Rev.—TR. POT. COS. IIII. Fortune standing to left,
rudder *resting on* globe. S.C. (Cf. Coh. 883.)
23. Faustina I. Æ. *Obv.*—DIVA FAVSTINA. Head to
right.
Rev.—AVGVSTA. Ceres standing to right, holding
sceptre(?) and *two* ears of corn. (Cf. Coh.
27, 8.)
24. Faustina I. Æ. *Obv.*—FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Head
to right.
Rev.—Throne, long sceptre, *and* diadem; peacock below.
(Cf. Coh. 52, 90, 93.)
25. Faustina I. Æ 2. *Obv.*—DIVA AVGVSTA FAVSTINA.
Veiled head to right. (Cf. Coh. 262, 3.)
Rev.—PIET. AVG. In exergue, S.C.
26. Faustina I. Æ 2. *Obv.*—DIVA FAVSTINA. *Veiled*
head to right.
Rev.—AVGVSTA. Female figure, holding patera and
wand, standing to left. S.C.
27. Marcus Aurelius. Æ. *Obv.*—M. ANTONINVS AVG.
ARM. PARTH. MAX. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—TR. P. XX. IMP. IIII. COS. III. Peace standing
to left. (Cf. Coh. 144.)

28. M. Aurelius. Æ 1. *Obv.*—AVG. PII. F. COS. II. Bare head, *lightly draped* bust, to right.
Rev.—HILARITAS. Hilarity standing to left. S.C.
29. M. Aurelius. Æ 1. *Obv.*—M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXX. Laureate bust, *with cuirass*, to right.
Rev.—FELICITAS AVG. IMP. X. COS. III. P. P. Felicity standing to left. S.C.
30. M. Aurelius. *Obv.*—Æ 1. IMP. CAES. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. P. M. Bare head, bust *draped*, to right.
Rev.—SALVTI AVGVSTOR. TR. P. XVII. Salus standing to left. S.C. In exergue, COS. III.
31. M. Aurelius. Æ 1. *Obv.*—M. AVREL. ANTONINVS ARMENIACVS P. M. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—VICT. AVG. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III. Victory standing to right. Armenian captive at foot. S.C.
32. Same as I. 20.
33. M. Aurelius. Æ 1. *Obv.*—M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. P. M. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III. Minerva standing to right. S.C. (Cf. Coh. 748.)
34. M. Aurelius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXIII. Radiate head to right, bust *bare*.
Rev.—SALVTI AVG. COS. III. Salus standing to left. S.C. (Cf. Coh. 619.)
35. M. Aurelius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—M. AVREL. CAESAR AVG. PII FIL. Bare head, bust with paludamentum, to right.
Rev.—TR. POT. VIII. COS. II. Mars marching to right. S. C.
36. M. Aurelius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXXI. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—IMP. VIII. COS. III. P. P. Fulmen. S.C. (Cf. Coh. 558.)

37. M. Aurelius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXIX. Radiate head to right.
Rev.—IMP. VII. COS. III. Roma Victrix standing to left. S.C.
38. M. Aurelius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—M. AVREL. ANTONINVS ARMENIACVS. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III. Mars standing to right. S.C.
39. M. Aurelius. Æ 2. *Obv.*—M. ANTONINVS AVG. P. M. Laureate head to right, bust *draped*.
Rev.—TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III. Mars Victor marching to left. S.C.
40. Faustina II. Æ. *Obv.*—FAUSTINA AVG. PII. AVG. FIL. Head to right.
Rev.—CONCORDIA. Concord seated to left, cornucopia on globe.
41. Faustina II. Æ 2. *Obv.*—FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Head to right.
Rev.—CONCORDIA. Concord, with *single* cornucopia. seated to left. (Cf. Coh. 141.)
42. Lucilla. Æ. *Obv.*—LVCILLAE AVG. ANTONINI AVG. F. Head to right.
Rev.—CONCORDIA. Concord *standing* to left.
43. Commodus. Æ. *Obv.*—M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. BRIT. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—P. M. TR. P. XI. IMP. VII. COS. V. P. P. Fortune seated to left. In exergue, FORT. RED, (Cf. Coh. 56.)
44. Commodus. Æ. *Obv.*—COMM. . . . AVG. BRIT. P. P. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—ROMAE FELICI. COS. VI. Rome seated to left.
45. Commodus. Æ. *Obv.*—M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. BRIT. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—ROM. AETER. P. M. TR. P. XIII. Rome seated to left. (Cf. Coh. 219.)

46. Septimius Severus. *Ar. Obr.*—IMP. CAE. L. SEP. SEV. PERT. AVG. COS. II? Laureate head to right.
Rev.—VICT. AVG. Victory, holding garland (no palm), marching to right. (Cf. Coh. 403.)
47. Julia Domna. *Ar. Obv.*—IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG. Head to right.
Rev.—FELICITAS. Felicity standing to left. (Cf. Coh. 24.)
48. Julia Mæsa. *Æ 2. Obv.*—IVLIA MAESA AVG. Diademed head to right.
Rev.—SAECVLI FELICITAS. Felicity standing to left. S.C. (Cf. Coh. 38.)
49. Julia Soæmias. *Æ 2. Obv.*—IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVGVSTA. Head to left.
Rev.—MATER. DEVM. Cybele seated to left. In exergue, S.C. (Cf. Coh. 12.)
 This is a very peculiar coin.
50. Alexander. *Æ. I. Obv.*—IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. IIII. Emperor in quadriga, slow, to right. (Cf. Coh. 368.)
51. Alexander. *Æ 2. Obv.*—IMP. CAES. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—IOVI. VLTORI. Jupiter seated to left. In exergue, S.C.
52. Orbiana. *Æ. 2. Obv.*—SALL. BARBIA ORBIANA AVG. Diademed head to right.
Rev.—CONCORDIA AVGG. Concord seated to left. In exergue, S.C. (Cf. Coh. No. 11; and see particularly *Suppl.* p. 241).
53. Trebonianus Gallus. *Æ 2. Obv.*—IMP. CAE. C. VIB. TREB. GALLVS AVG. Laureate head to right.
Rev.—IVNONI. MARTIALI. Juno seated in temple. S.C.

XII.

DID THE KINGS, BETWEEN EDWARD III. AND
HENRY VI., COIN MONEY AT YORK ON THEIR
OWN ACCOUNT?

THE documentary evidence, adduced by Mr. Neck, which confirms my attribution of the coins marked with the broken annulet to Henry V., is gratifying. But I fear that, with reference to the groats of the annulet type, which exhibit a head varying but little from that of Henry V., yet somewhat different from it, and which read ANGL' like the groats of Henry VI., I have not made myself sufficiently understood about the York groat which bears the head of Henry V., and which, according to documents, was struck in the reign of Henry VI. The matter of the other groats, to some extent, turns upon that York groat, the others being confessedly subsequent to it. And there is an appeal to me, to which I can scarcely be inattentive.

It is, in the general, improbable that the great annulet coinage, for which the moneyer's indenture is not dated until 13 Feb., 1422, and which Mr. Pownall thinks would not practically commence until July, 1422, should, after pouring forth the common annulet pieces with Henry V.'s head and ANGLIA, have been changed before his death in August. I should suppose that this well-known coinage,

common in all its stages, extended, during each of them, over a much longer period than any number of months ending with Henry V.'s death, and that dies of his type would, for even a longer time than usual, be used during such a great recoinage, into the successor's reign.

In 1866, I stated my conclusion "that the regal money of the Henries, the gold and the larger denominations of silver, were struck at York in the time of Henry VI. only." If that conclusion was correct, the York groat could only have been coined by Henry VI.; and, as it bears his father's head, it must have been struck with his father's dies or with fac-similes of them; and all groats subsequent to it in style must also have been issued in Henry VI.'s reign. I admit that I ought perhaps to have been more explicit in stating reasons for my views, when I so roughly treated the regal money of the Henries at York as having consisted only of gold and the larger denominations of silver.

Ruding gives no document of Henry V.'s time to support his text, to the effect that, in 1421, "on the petition of the commons of the northern counties, the Parliament ordained that a mint should be worked at York, for the relief of the said counties." He says that the petition "is referred to in a subsequent petition of the same persons, 2 Hen. VI.," and he quotes Rolls of Parliament, iv. 200. Certainly we do find, there, a petition from the king's lieges of the counties of York, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancaster, Chester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Bishopric of Durham, and all parts of the north. But what does it really say? It recites that, in 9 Henry V. an act was passed, under which no subject was obliged to receive English gold in payment, except at the weight appointed by the king. There is nothing more

in it about Henry V. Next it mentions an ordinance of "your" (Henry VI.'s) last Parliament. On turning to Pulson's imprint of the statutes of 1 Hen. VI., we find that: "First, it is ordained and established, for the profit of the king, and the ease of his people, that the lords of the King's Council, for the time being, may assign, by authority of the said Parliament, masters and workmen to make money of *gold and silver*, to hold the exchanges of money as well in the city of *Yorke*, as in the town of *Bristow*, and also in as many places as to the said lords shall seem necessary." Can any one doubt that this ordinance originated the endorsement of 16 February, 1423, extending the renewal of Goldbeter's indenture, for London and Calais, to York and Bristol? He came to York (continues the petition), and he coined in gold and silver to the ease of the country. He went away, and the persons petitioning to the Parliament, which met in October, 1423, wished to have him back. Their petition was granted, but I have no evidence that he returned to York, or that he ever went to Bristol, or to any other place by the lords deemed to be necessary. We have no York groats of Henry VI., weighing 60 grains, save the early one with his father's head, and we have none struck at Bristol or at any other place save London and Calais.

The dates, then, seem to place the facts in the following order: By virtue of the Act passed in the Parliament of 1 Henry VI., which met in November, 1422, the mint at York was re-established by endorsement of February, 1422-3, on the old indenture of February, 1421-2. The York groat, in question must, therefore, be subsequent to that endorsement, and, on the documentary evidence, was struck at a date sufficiently after February, 1422-3, half a year from Henry V.'s death, to have enabled Gold-

beter to set up his mint at York, and sufficiently before the session of Parliament, which met in October, 1423, to have allowed his absence to become a grievance. Hence it proves that Henry V.'s type was used for at least six or seven months after his death.

It is difficult to conceive that, if the regal mints of Calais and of York had been worked after Edward III.'s reign, Ordinances and Acts of Parliament would have been required for either of them. But Parliamentary authorities did precede the indentures respecting both of them. The authority as to Calais, in 9 Hen. V., had been founded on a prayer from the folks of Calais for their mint, "*si come fuist en auncien temps,*" and on a prayer from the commons of England for a coinage at Calais "*en manere come ad este fait et cunez en temps des nobles progenitours n're dit S'r le Roi.*" Can we suppose that the superadded mint of York was in better plight?

And what is the evidence of the coins? Does any one possess a gold coin, or a groat, or a half-groat of Calais, or of York between the reign of Edward III. and the annulet coinage of Henry V.? There are York pennies struck during that period, but is there one which does not bear *an open quatrefoil in the centre of the cross on the reverse*? And does not the documentary evidence, in itself, suggest that, as there was no regal mint, this mark must betoken the issue from the archiepiscopal mint?

From the Conquest, downwards, to the time of Edward I., there is nothing to distinguish the archiepiscopal money from the king's money generally. In 8 Edw. I. the archbishop proved seisin of two dies by him and his predecessors, time out of mind, and claimed a saving clause for a third die, which they used to have, but which

the king then had in the city. Deliveries of the two dies continued to 1 Ric. II. The third die, and any others which may have been issued by the Crown, seem to have been worked to some extent, for, during the reigns of the three Edwards, we have York pennies, some certainly of the same coinages, both with the open quatrefoil in the centre of the cross and without it. We obtain in that circumstance another strong argument, in aid of general probabilities, that the open quatrefoil in that position marks the archbishop's pennies. The object alluded to begins in the time of Edward I. In the earliest coins before me which present it, the lettering is precisely the same as that on other pieces of the same period which do not give it. Those which do give it possess also the peculiarity of having a close quatrefoil on Edward I.'s breast, a feature which recurs, in a smaller form, on late coins of Edward III. and on coins of Richard II. It may not have any connection with the open quatrefoil. In 1866 I suggested that the open quatrefoil originated in the handle of St. Peter's key, so intimately associated with the see of York. I cannot, after the lapse of five years, suggest any more probable origin for this general mark, which seems to have been introduced on the York coins a little before the occurrence of any special marks to distinguish the Durham episcopal coins. Yet I do not assert that, when it occurs out of its usual place, which is in the centre of the reverse cross, it has the same signification. There are York pennies of Edward III. which present the open quatrefoil on the right of the mint-mark on the obverse before the king's name. These, however, have the same object in its usual place on the reverse, and some of them have it also on the king's breast. But there are other pennies without it on the

reverse, which, nevertheless, have it on the obverse, but before the mint-mark instead of after it, terminating the legend instead of commencing it. There is a somewhat similar termination on some of the Durham prelatical coins, but on those it is formed of four annulets set in cross, and is not an open quatrefoil. The objects in the centre of the reverse of some of the Durham pennies, though at first sight sometimes rather resembling the open quatrefoil, are all different from it. There seemed, therefore, to be no reason to doubt that on the York pennies, which appeared, from the absence of the open quatrefoil on the reverse, to be regal, the mark had still a local bearing, and was derived from the ecclesiastical usage of it, though not placed, after the fashion of the archbishops, on the reverse. To my surprise, however, I find it preceding the king's name on a noble of the 1360—1369 period, in the centre of the reverse of which is the letter α , for Calais, as I presume, the lettering agreeing very well with that on the Calais groats of Edward III. Collectors of gold coins will be able to inform us whether the Calais nobles are frequently so distinguished, or whether an obverse die intended for the gold coinage at York had strayed to Calais in error. I know little, I might almost say nothing, of gold coins, and merely purchased the noble I have mentioned by reason of the open quatrefoil. The object may well have been sometimes a regal mark. In decorative rows it occurs profusely on the canopy of Edward III.'s florin, and on the ends of his ships on the nobles.¹ It also forms

¹ I have left the text as I originally wrote it, as my further information, kindly afforded by Mr. Evans, in no way affects the argument, anticipating, as I did, that on the nobles, and indeed on any coin when not used after the York fashion, the open quatrefoil might be merely a regal mark. Mr. Evans

an integral part of the cross on the reverse of the florin and its divisions. But this sort of usage is very different from the continuous usage of it singly on the York pennies, and I adhere to the opinion that, however derived, it distinguishes the archiepiscopal coins. The peculiarity of there being pennies of the same coinages which present it, and others which do not, has already been remarked, and I may now add that I never saw a York groat with it; nor have I ever seen a York half-groat with it. And it will be admitted, I think, that we can hardly say that half-groats before the reign of Edward IV. were prelatical and not regal; and, as to groats, I suppose that Wolsey's is the only one known for England which can be alleged to be prelatical.

No pieces whatever of the Calais mint between the reigns of Edward III. and Henry V. are known, and, during the same period, no groats or half-groats, and no gold pieces of the York mint, are known. Surely I may say that no regal money at all of that mint for that time is known. We have pennies struck at it, and every one of them bears what I take to be the archiepiscopal mark.

suggests that on the gold it is probably nothing more than an ornament put in with the punch for the quatrefoils forming the bulwark at the prow and stern of the ship to which I have alluded in the sentence to which I have added this note. This is not unlikely. His Calais noble with flag has no quatrefoil before the legend. But then he has a noble of Edward III. with flag, the letter \mathfrak{A} in the centre of the reverse, and the quatrefoil above the sail at the beginning of the legend; and, further, he has a noble of Richard II. with the quatrefoil in the same place. After all, it may be that this mark betokens gold intended to be struck at the Mint of York, for while I think it plain that there had been a serious discontinuance of that mint, as of that at Calais, before the great annulet coinage, it would be impossible to say that the discontinuance was absolutely contemporaneous with the death of Edward III.

Another class of evidence for this belief exists in the quality of work mostly found on the pennies in question. That the dies used in previous times were sent down from the Tower to the Archbishop of York is pretty clear. But in Richard II.'s reign a change takes place. Barbarous workmanship is introduced, with mis-spelt legends. During the reign of Henry IV., and the earlier part of that of Henry V., there is a resumption of good work, with peculiarities. Even in Henry VI.'s reign there is sometimes moderately fair work. But the general run of the style in the quatrefoil pennies of Henry V. and Henry VI. is unsatisfactory. During the sovereignty of the latter king the York mint sinks to a degree that I hardly think can be paralleled in the whole series of English coins, not excepting the earlier coins of Rhuddlan and Berwick, or some of the later Durham ones during the reign of Edward IV. The metal, too, of some of the barbarous York pennies appears, from the unpleasant green incrustation upon them, to be very base.

In considering the absence of regal coins from certain mints, we must remember that, from whatever cause, the Crown, after the early part of Henry VI.'s reign, seems to have struck very few pennies anywhere. Probably the moneyers, well occupied in the issue of the larger denominations, disliked the trouble and small profit in comparison with the labour of production which attended the smaller pieces. The pennies, from the reign just mentioned to the period of Henry VIII.'s base coinages, are mostly marked with prelatical devices, though regal ones do exist. The open quatrefoil kept its ground at York after the time when the archbishops introduced initials of their names, and only gave way when, in the reign of Henry VII., both the keys of St. Peter in their

entirety were placed under the new reverse of the royal arms.

Goldbeter, I repeat, as far as we know from coins, never coined at Bristol at all, and probably never came back to York. We have no coins for that city which can be considered as regal, after his groat about which we have heard so much (except, *perhaps*, the late halfpenny of Henry VI., engraved), until we arrive at the light coinages of Edward IV. and Henry VI. Richard III. coined groats at York, and Henry VII. half-groats in his early days; and then we have another cessation of regal coins there. But, in their absence, we have the archbishops venturing to strike half-groats, which had already been coined by the archbishops of Canterbury in the time of Edward IV. At last one of Wolsey's faults "seems to have been the presuming to strike larger coins than his predecessors had done, and the daring to mark them as his own coinage by the stamp of the cardinal's hat."²

W. HYLTON DYER LONGSTAFFE.

Gateshead, 13 Oct., 1871.

² Very probably this really is the correct substance of the charge that "the said Lord Cardinal, of his further pompous and presumptuous mind, hath enterprised to join and imprint the Cardinal's hat under your arms in your coin of groats made at your city of York, which like deed hath not been seen to be done by any subject in your realm before this time." I take it that the groats were considered as the king's coin, introduced after the origin of monetary franchises and not included in them. And I hardly know how any prelate began to strike even half-groats. No documentary authority for their issue from private mints is cited, and Bishop Booth, of Durham, when he wished to strike halfpennies as well as pennies, obtained formal letters patent.

XIII.

EARLY ARMENIAN COINS.

(Continued from p. 304, vol. viii.)

THE continuation of my fragmentary notices of Armenian coins has been interrupted by other studies, more directly associated with the duties of my early life in India, and the preparation of a more complete edition of "The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi,"¹ for the introductory publication of which I was indebted to the editors of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, in the pages of whose journal my tentative essays first appeared.²

In resuming the thread of the ancient history of Armenia, as illustrated by the casual specimens of its coinage which find a place in modern European cabinets, I have to advert prominently to the recent discovery of the "Moabite Stone," and the bearings of its typical alphabet upon the later developments of cognate characters on coins and contemporaneous writings; and somewhat unwillingly to reply, in brief terms, to certain criticisms which have appeared, in the interval, upon the

¹ London, Trübner, 1871.

² Num. Chron. (1846-7), vol. ix. o.s., p. 79, *et seq.* (collected and published by Wertheimer. London, 1847). Also "Supplementary Contributions" (reprinted from the *Delhi* text of 1851. Num. Chron. (1852) vol. xv. p. 121, *et seq.*

Palæographic definitions put forth in my previous papers.

The proclamation of Mesha, engraved on the monolith of Dhibon, which has created so great a sensation in the Biblical world,³ presents but little of novelty to students of early Greek Numismatics or Palæographers, who trace the offshoots of the Phœnician alphabet from the Pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Jumna.⁴ Nevertheless, its contributions are varied and valuable, presenting us with a complete alphabet of an ascertained date—some century and a half earlier than the general run of parallel documents,⁵ a singularly close association of the

³ La Stèle de Dhibon, M. Clermont-Ganneau, *Révue Archéologique*, March, 1870, p. 184. Durenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, Jan. and Feb., 1870. Schlotmann, March 15. *Times*, May 5. *Zeitschrift*, i. and ii. Left. 1870.

Notices more readily available to English readers may be found in Prof. Rawlinson's article in the *Contemporary Review*, vol. xv. (August and November), 1870, p. 96, *et seq.*; and in Dr. Wright's learned and exhaustive paper in the concluding number of the *North British Review*. From the latter I extract the following close summary:—

"An alphabet common to all the Shemitic populations of Syria—an alphabet from which were derived the Greek letters on the one side, and all the later alphabets of the East on the other.

"This alphabet is, doubtless, almost, if not absolutely identical with that employed by the poets, prophets, and historians of the kingdom of Judah and Israel, when they committed their works to writing; and it may be well for scholars to bear this in mind when attempting conjectural emendations upon the Biblical texts."—*North British Review*, October, 1870.

⁴ Num. Chron. iii. n.s. p. 230.

⁵ Dr. Wright fixes the date of the inscription as "approximately in the 2nd year of Ahaziah's reign, or the beginning of that of his brother Jehoram" (B.C. 896, 894). The seals and tablets from Sargon's treasure chamber are supposed to belong to the time of Asshur bani pal (about 667 B.C.). The Assyrian Lion weights are understood to be earlier, and Sir H. Raw-

configuration of some of its letters with the most authentic forms of Archaic Greek, and a new site on the frontiers of cuneiform strongholds.

Beyond the ordinary identities with the early Greek previously recognised, the forms of the letters Γ \neg , Δ \triangleleft , and Z \mathcal{Z} , are specially marked; on the other hand we have new outlines of the digamma Υ , and the Ξ \equiv , a modification of the Λ \complement , and a varied definition of the T \times , many of which peculiarities connect the alphabet with the more clearly defined Aramæan and Persian types of Semitic writing.⁶

More than twenty years ago I ventured in the pages of this journal (*Numismatic Chronicle*, xii. 77) to dissent from De Sacy's recognition of the value of the Sassanian letter 𐭠 , as M. N.; an interpretation which he had accepted on the faith of Anquetil du Perron, who had derived his knowledge of Pehlvi from the imperfect teachings of the Pársis of Bombay.⁷ Although I was in a position to determine that De Sacy was in error, I was not, at the

linson places some of his Ninevite tablets in the eighth century B.C. *J. R. A. S.* 1870, p. xxx.



⁶ Gesenius *passim*. M. de Luynes, in Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. p. 166. Dr. Levy's "Contributions to Aramæan Numismatics," 1867. M. de Vogüé "Mélanges," p. 145. The facsimiles given in the text are taken from the paper impressions of the original stone in the Palestine exploration collection.

⁷ Anquetil himself, in speaking of the learning of his own instructors at an anterior period, or in the middle of the eighteenth century, uses the words, "L'ignorance était le vice dominant des Parses de l'Inde." *Zend Avesta*, p. cccxxvi., Burnouf *Yaçna*, p. x.) Dr. Haug gives us an amusing pendant to this statement in saying, "The European reader will not be a little astonished to learn that Anquetil's work was regarded afterwards as a kind of authority by the *Destûrs* themselves." ("Sacred Language of the Parsis." Bombay, 1862, p. 21.) See also Westergaard, *J. R. A. S.* viii. 350: and Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," i. pp. 122, 167, 170, &c.

time, equally advanced in the power of saying what the value of the character really was, though I subsequently discovered that it was nothing more than the long *i* of the Sassanian alphabet,—in support of which identification I re-examined the whole question, somewhat at large, in a late number of this journal (*Numismatic Chronicle*, vii. 222), and even amplified my proofs in another place,⁸ as I was aware that there was a disposition to adhere to the old reading among many who had accepted the original definition, even to its incorporation into modern grammars and glossaries.⁹ The question has lately been revived by the direct negation of my authority for this correction by Dr. Martin Haug,¹⁰ with a reiteration of the claims of the Pârsi definition of M N (*man*).

⁸ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, iii. n.s. p. 260.






⁹ I conclude it is to some such feeling of hostility at my venturing to differ, not only from certain Continental professors, but more expressly from their masters in Bombay, that I owe an amusingly rabid attack in the "*Revue Critique*" (27th March, 1869), by M. Justi. The tone of this article would alone prevent my conceding to it any serious notice, but it is clear that no object could be attained by my entering upon a discussion with the author, or those who accept his interpretations upon texts, the very alphabet of which is still in dispute. So that, although M. Justi's eccentric lucubration has received the commendation of M. Renan (*Journal Asiatique*), I am content to surrender the writer to the more congenial conflict with his countryman, Dr. Haug, who has already sounded the note of defiance, about the "grave errors" of my critic, whom he contemptuously designates as "a mere follower of Spiegel." (*Pahlavi-Zand Glossary*, pp. 25, 32.)

¹⁰ Dr. Haug is scarcely candid in affirming that "the phonetic value of the character , has been thought, to be *i*, chiefly on account of its resemblance in form to the Zand letter  (an old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary, 1870, p. 44). There is far more varied testimony towards the identification than this abrupt utterance would imply, as I have, in effect, repeated above. My first acceptance of the letter as *i* dates from 1852.

I have held, from the first, that the idea of combining consonants, for the purpose of eliding the inherent short *a* of Aryan speech, was altogether undeveloped in the Semitic alphabet of the Sassanians, though the system had already been elaborated in the more critical Bactrian writing, in parallel association with the local *Lât* or *Pali* character of the Indian provinces. This is readily exemplified in the practical transcription of Greek names, where we find the Bactrian “Eukratides” and the Indian Pali, “Agathokles,” combining the consonant succeeding to the *k*, in either case, to denote the absence of *a*. Here the object of compounding and connecting letters is

(Journal Royal Asiatic Society, xiii. 375), and I find Dr. Haug confessing in 1862 (“Essays on the Sacred Language of the Parsees,” Bombay, p. 45), that *Barj* is the Chaldee *bar*, ‘son’ (*ben* in Hebrew and Arabic); the *j* at the end is another pronunciation of the relative *i* above mentioned [in *Bagi*].” It is curious that the Professor should at this period have so accurately defined the mission of the letter and its direct association with the short *i*, and yet have failed to detect its real import. It was reserved, however, for his later baptism in the fireworship of the Gujarâti Destûrs to convert him from his hard-earned European knowledge to their atmosphere of placid ignorance, and the restoration of the symbol to Anquetil du Perron’s faulty version of *man*, contributed of old by the less degraded representatives of the Pârsi faith in 1759.

Mr. E. W. West, C.E., whose good service to the cause of Indian palæography in his decipherments of the inscriptions on the walls of the Western Cave Temples, I can freely bear testimony to—has lately undertaken the study of Pehlvi, in concert with Dr. Haug, of Munich, and has argued the question of the value of the character under discussion with much patience and ingenuity in opposition to my interpretation. I am unable to discover that he has at all shaken my position, and I regret to find that he ignores, or subordinates unduly the very important evidence in favour of the *i*, to be drawn from the previous identities of the Phœnician and other derivative forms of *𐎠*. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1870, p. 364.)

obvious enough;¹¹ but the most singular fact which the advocates of the Sassanian M N are altogether unable to explain is, if, as is confessed, the two simple letters, M and N are written separately in the same text, with an optional value of *man* or *min*, why an arbitrary compound should have been invented to convey the self-same sounds, a compound, moreover, which, according to their own showing, does *not* necessarily elide the short vowel. If this particular sign, , had been a composite character for M N, matured during the progressive manipulation of the normal alphabet, it ought to show some traces of the parent letters, whereas the , in its various gradations, flows easily from the Archaic model on the Moabite stone to the crystallised forms of the Pehlvi and Zend *type* letters, which were based on MS. writing and engraved by independent parties, altogether apart from any reference to this unpremeditated controversy. In addition to this difficulty about the M N, Mr. West has introduced a new element of discord in arbitrarily attempting to convert the very palpable  of the Chaldaeo-Pehlvi into a ; and finally Dr. Haug desires to elevate a badly defined  = *k* in the Sassanian text of the inscription into a new and independent letter, representing the sound of *kat*. It may be said that this is not a very long list of variants, after all; but the determination of the value of the most important of these characters as M, N, or I is positively a vital question, as its decision in a measure carries with it the determination of the structure of the language itself.

¹¹ A large assortment of these compounds is given in my plate of the Bactrian alphabet (Num. Chron. iii. n.s. Plate VI.) and the particular instances above cited may be consulted in Gen. Cunningham's Pl. V. vol. viii. of this journal.

Finally, to reduce me to definite extinction, under the Pehlvi aspect, MM. Haug and West have put forth a trial piece, in the form of a new and improved revision of the bilingual Sapor inscriptions engraved on the rock surface of the cavern at Hâjiâbâd. My own tentative reading of this confessedly obscure text—a text, be it remembered, that had set European linguists at defiance for half a century¹²—was given with sufficient reserve,¹³ a feeling which does not seem to be shared by later interpreters. All I can say is that if this translation, revised by Dr. Haug in 1870, after a preliminary exhibition by Mr. West in 1869,¹⁴ really and truly represents the purport of the original inscription, the “divine” King Sapor must have arrived at a very advanced stage of dotage before he could have consented to put his hand to such a document.¹⁵

¹² In 1858, I said in my edition of “Prinsep’s Essays” (ii. p. 108), “Of all those who are learned in Zend and its cognate languages—of the various professors who edit Pehlvi texts, or who put together grammars of that tongue—no single individual has to this day been able to add one line of translation to the bilingual inscriptions of Hâjiâbâd, beyond what De Sacy had already taught us in 1793. In brief, our power of interpretation fails us exactly where the Sassanians have omitted to supply us with the Greek translations they appended to some of the parallel texts.”

¹³ J. R. A. S., iii. n.s. p. 339.

¹⁴ J. R. A. S., iv. n.s. p. 376.

¹⁵ Lest my readers should suppose that I am exaggerating in this matter, I append M. Haug’s revised version in his own words:—After titles, &c. “the king. As we shot this arrow, then we shot it in the presence of the satraps, the grandees, peers and noblemen; we put the foot in this cave; we threw the arrow outside that it should reach the target; the arrow (was) flying beyond that (target); whither the arrow had been thrown, there was no place (to hit), where if a target had been constructed, then it (the arrow) would have been manifest (?). Afterwards it was ordered by us: an invisible target is constructed for the future (?); an invisible hand has written, ‘do

One of the most curious points in this controversy is that Dr. Haug, whose local oracle denounces in unmeasured terms¹⁶ the ignorance of his fellow Pársis of Bombay, proposes, like myself, to rectify their orthographical errors by an appeal to the unpolluted sources of "Sassanian Inscriptions."¹⁷ It is clear that, under these conditions, the typical alphabetical scheme ought to be subjected to the most rigorous, *independent* criticism, otherwise, if it be allowed in any way to lend itself to the needs of preconceived Pársi interpretations, it not only fails in its appointed mission, but perpetuates the very faults it is invoked to correct.

Having, I hope, shown some slight justification for my previous interpretations, I pass on to the examination of the new materials more amply illustrating the developments of the Semitic alphabet. Its course has already been traced from the western basin of the Mediterranean to the *Doáb* of the Ganges—from the Persian Gulf, fitfully, to the Lower Indus,¹⁸ where it touches the legitimate Bactrian of the Indo-Scythian and Sáh Kings—it is

not put the foot in this cave, and do not shoot an arrow at this target after an invisible arrow has been thrown at this target; 'such wrote the hand.'—(Haug, Pahlavi General Glossary, p. 64.)

¹⁶ "For the last 500 or 600 years, the knowledge of *Pázand*, or pure Persian, has gradually declined amongst Persian scholars in general, and especially amongst Pársi priests; so much so, that very few of the *Destúrs* can now either write or understand it correctly, as can readily be seen from their imperfect notes in Pahlavi books, and incorrect modes or expression in other writings. This ignorance has prevailed to such an extent that though the priests learn this glossary, parrot-like, off by heart, yet they cannot critically make out the exact meanings of many words, but are satisfied with mere guesses," &c.—*Destúr Hoshang Jamasp*. (An old Pahlavi *Pázand* Glossary, p. ix.)

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

¹⁸ Num. Chron. (1870), x. p. 139. J. R. A. S., iv. p. 500. J. Bombay Branch R. A. S. 1869. Plate, p. 4, fig. 1.

seen to have been indigenous in Armenia and Median Atropatēne,¹⁹ and, now, our coins enable us to carry it further on its way towards those essentially ancient seats of Aryan civilisation on the Oxus, the archaic existence of which has lately been confirmed by fresh and independent evidence, in amplification of Sir H. Rawlinson's discoveries in 1866,²⁰ prominently

¹⁹ "Early Sassanian Inscriptions" (Trübner, 1868), 133. Num. Chron., xii. Pl., figs. 5, 6, 7. Lindsay, Pl. x. 27. Dr. Levy, "Zeitschrift," xxi. Pl. ii. 2—5.

²⁰ "The belief in a very early empire in Central Asia, coeval with the institution of the Assyrian monarchy, was common among the Greeks long anterior to Alexander's expedition to the East, and could only have been derived from the traditions current at the court of the Achæmenian kings. This belief, again, is connected through the names of Oxyartes and Zoroaster with the Iranian division of the Aryan race, and receives confirmation from the earliest memorials of that people. It is with the Eastern Iranians, however, that we are principally concerned, as the founders of Central Asian civilisation. This people, on the authority of the Vendidad, may be supposed to have achieved their first stage of development in Sughd. Their language was probably Zend, as distinguished from the Achæmenian Persian, and somewhat more removed than that dialect from the mother tongue of the Arians of the south. A more important evidence, however, of the very high state of power and civilisation to which they attained is to be found in the information regarding them preserved by the celebrated Abu Rihan (Al Bîrûnî), himself a native of the country, and the only Arab writer who investigated the antiquities of the East in a true spirit of historical criticism. This writer supplies us with an extensive specimen of the old dialects of Sugdh and Kharism. He gives us in those dialects the names of the twelve months, the names of the thirty days of the month, and the five Epagomenæ, together with the names of the signs of the Zodiac and of the seven planets, and lastly of the mansions of the moon. A portion of his nomenclature is original and offers a most curious subject for investigation; but the majority of the names can be compared, as was to be expected, with the Zend correspondents, and, indeed, are much nearer to the primitive forms than are the better known Parsee equivalents. According to Abu Rihan, again, the solar calendar of

noticed in this journal in 1867 (Numismatic Chronicle, vii. p. 143). Dr. Sachau, to whom the Oriental Translation Fund has lately confided a critical edition of the MS. upon which Sir H. Rawlinson based his researches, has already made vigorous progress beyond the fettered range of a single work, and will doubtless, in due time, give the world a very comprehensive account of our proper Aryan cradle.²¹ Meanwhile we welcome a contribution from the improved text of the Arab geographer, Istakhri,²² which affirms independently the early traditions of Aryanism of speech in those distant lands, and brings

Kharism was the most perfect scheme for measuring time with which he was acquainted; and it was maintained by the astronomers of that country that both the solar and lunar Zodiacs had originated with them, the divisions of the signs in their system being far more regular than those adopted by the Greeks or Arabs Abu Riĥan asserts that the Kharismians dated originally from an epoch anterior by 980 years to the era of Seleucidæ, a date which agrees pretty accurately with the period assigned by our best scholars to the invention of the Jyotisha or Indian calendar."—*Quarterly Review*, October, 1866, p. 488, &c.

²¹ Dr. Sachau was so good as to furnish me with a long note on the subject of his own researches, from which the following is an extract. The article will appear in full in the Academy:—"The most valuable part of *Al ákĥbár el Bakíya* seems to me that which refers to the Central Asiatic Mesopotamia, the country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, and its southern and northern centres of civilisation, *i.e.*, Sugĥdiana and Khiwárizm. Birúni's information on this subject is alike new and important, for these countries were the homestead of Zoroastrianism and the focus of Central Asian civilisation, which shortly before it was trodden down by the Mughals and Tatars, struck a traveller, like Yákút, with admiration. By the help of Birúni we shall be able to trace the outlines of the dialects of Sugĥdiana and Khwarizm and to bring back the history of these countries."

²² "*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*," M. J. de Goeje (Lugd. Bat., 1870). See also Professor Nöldeke's review in the Academy, Oct. 1, 1871, p. 461.

me face to face with an identification, which may chance to prove of considerable importance in the general inquiry—that is, the association of the ancient name of the kingdom of *Khārizm* itself,²³ with the misinterpreted modern term of “*Hujvárish*,” ordinarily applied to one of the divisions of Pehlvi writing. If the crude Oriental words, which I subdue into a foot-note, confess to an identical derivation and primary purport, we may have to bring the written language, the cognate alphabet embodied on the banks of the Euphrates,²⁴ into closer relations with the undetermined palæography of the Eastern nidus.

For a long time past an impression has prevailed that the sister dialect, embodied in the kindred Pehlvi character, might likewise be connected with the geographical limits of the less disturbed settlements of the Aryan Fire-worshippers;²⁵ a curious confirmation of this supposition

²³ “In the *Scythic* version of the the Behistun cuneiform inscription of Darius, the names of the province of *Khārizm* is expressed by ‘*Varasmiya*’ admitting a free and optional interchange of the consonants M and V or W, the parallel *Persian* cuneiform text reproduces the name more closely, as *Uvarazmia* or *Uuarazmish*.” — (Mr. Norris, *J. R. A. S.*, xv. pp. 28, 97, 191.

As this identification involved a larger amount of responsibility than I have confessed to above, I took the opportunity of asking my friend Mr. Norris if there was anything inconsistent with his more ample knowledge in this suggestion; but, so far from any defect in the association, Mr. Norris was at first under the impression that he himself had conceived such a solution. However, as we have both sought for any published declaration to that effect, we are quite content to concur in the probable coincidence now put forth.

²⁴ “It is to be written in the writing of the Avesta, or in that of Sevat (*i.e.*, Chaldæa), which is *uzvársh*.” — (Haug, p. 42, quoting J. Müller.)

²⁵ “Dilem was the Media inferior, Mazenderan and the countries between the Caspian and the Tigris, one of the

has lately been contributed by the publication of the Arabic text of *Ibn Khordádbah*, a man born in the faith, as his name implies, who classes the sanctuaries of Zoroastrianism under the emphatic topographical designation of the "land of the Pehlvi's." I reproduce this passage from the excellent "French translation of M. Barbier de Meynard (*Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p. 278)." "Pays des Pehlevis—Hamadán, Dinavar, Nèhavend; Mihrdjándak, Maçabadán, Kasvin. Cette ville, qui est à 27 *farasanges* de Rey, forme la frontière du Deïlem; elle comprend la ville de Mouça et la ville de Mubarek. Zendján, selon les uns, est à 15 *fars.*, selon les autres à 12 *fars.* d' Ahbar; Essinn, Taïlasán et le Deïlem."

But this is far too large a subject to be treated incidentally or in subordination to our present inquiry, which, for the moment, limits itself to the interpretation of monogram on coin No. 1, and the discovery of the locality to which this mint mark refers. Previous writers on Parthian numismatics have attributed the symbol in question to various and distinct localities,²⁶ among the rest, Tambrace has been suggested—an assignment which I propose definitively to adopt. The site of this capital has not yet been determined, but I think we may safely place it on the southern seaboard of the Caspian, at

original seats of the Pehlvi (Heeren, *Act. Soc. Gott.*, xiii.). Dilem was also a retreat of that language. The Caucasus, the country of Derbend, Segestán, and Kerman, thus sheltered the ancient language and religion of Persia, and thus the mountains of Dilem retained till the tenth century the worship of fire, and perhaps, therefore, the Pehlvi, with which that worship had been connected."—James Morier, "Persia," &c. 1812, pp. 288, 406.

²⁶ Visconti, iii. Pl. xlix. figs. 12—15, pp. 497, 483. "ΑΠ and ΑΠΘ;" Dr. Scott, *Num. Chron.* xvii. p. 171, "*Assyria*;" M. C. Lenormant, "Trésor de Numismatique," Pl. lxxviii.

Barfarosh, between the modern Amol and Sári.²⁷ That the conventional faith in dynastic symbols held its sway in

fig 18, p. 143, KAT; Mr. Lindsay, "Coinage of the Parthians," Pl. xi. "TAMPBAX."

M. de Longpérier seems to hesitate in accepting the identification of Tambrax (No. 7805 Rollin's Catalogue), and inclines to the reading of TAT for TASTACHE? (No. 7806) for a nearly similar monogram.

²⁷ Polybius, in his narrative of Antiochus Callinicus's operations in Hyrcania, has given us a very clear description of Tambrax, which he represents as an unwall'd city of great extent, containing a royal palace. Its position is defined as not far from Σύριγγα, a town which I suppose to be represented by the still extant Sári, which seems to have been a place of considerable strength and importance, and, as it were, the quasi-capital (εἶναι δὲ τῆς Ὑρκανίας ὡσανεὶ βασιλείον. Polyb., x. c. 31, s. 5). Strabo again speaks of Τάπη or Tape, in the Eastern Bay, as the royal residence for the moment; but he notices Tambrax as a considerable city, under the partially altered denomination of Talabroce (Ταλαβρόκη).—Strabo, xi. c. vii. s. 2.

Ptolemy, in his "Geography" (ii. p. 113) supplies a full list of the cities of Hyrcania; proceeding irregularly eastward, he cites Ἀμαροῦσα (Amol), Ὑρκανία μητρόπολις (Tambrax?), Σάκη (ἢ Σάλη), Σάρι, Ἀσμουρνα (Ashraf). Μαίσοκα (ἢ Μαύσοκα), (Marásak), καὶ νῆσος κατ' αὐτὴν πελαγία καλουμένη Τάλκα (Kára Tappah).

In adapting Ptolemy's geography to our modern maps, we must, however, entirely discard any reliance upon the accuracy or the consistency, *inter se*, of his latitudes and longitudes; but a close comparison of existing sites, aided by the intermediate data contributed by the Arab geographers, might enable us to reconstruct a very fair chart of the topographical features of the country at the period.

The greatest importance seems to have been attached in Ptolemy's scheme to the definition of the site of the town of Σαραμάννη, from whose position the other sea-board measurements were to be determined. Its locality is fixed and repeated as 94° 15', 40° 30'—exactly one of *his* degrees due north of Sári.

I infer that the Μαξήρα is the river associated with Marsak, or Marásak of the Muhammadan writers, and that the Σωκάνδα has its name in common with the "Nokanda" of the present day (B. Fraser, 14; Burnes's "Bokhára," ii. 118). I am, however, unable to concur in the identity of Asterábád and Za-

the manipulation of the monogram under review there can be little doubt; the *sound* of T.A.M. is first declared in the isolated obverse legend of the coins of Arsaces III., its sonant powers progress subsequently into T.A.M.B., and the crypto-monogram we seek to decipher holds its own throughout the Parthian mintages, as a leading and standard portion of the main device, till it disappears with the fading outline of the emblematic bow and the

dracarta proposed by Dr. Mortdmann (Dorn, St. Petersburg Academy, 31 March, 1870, p. 258), as, apart from other objections, by all accounts the mud and earthwork fortifications were only erected on this unimportant site after the Muhammedan conquest.

Under the ethnological aspect, the information preserved by Ptolemy may prove of importance. I therefore extract the brief passage entire:—

Κατανέμονται δὲ τῆς Ὑγκανίας τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ .	Μάξηραι
καὶ	Ἀσταβηνοί
καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τοὺς Μαξήρας	Χρῆνδοι
μεθ' οὓς	ἡ Ἀρσίτις
πρόσκειται τῷ Κορωνῶ	
ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς Ἀσταβηνοὺς	ἡ Σιρακηνή

For the geography of this part of the world, see also Pliny, vi. c. 18; Justin, xli. c. iv. s. 5; Arrian, xxv.; Curtius, vi. 4, viii. 3, 17; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. c. vi. 50.

The commercial capital of Hyrcania is described by a modern traveller in the following terms:—"The rich and extensive plain in which Barfarosh is placed affording very considerable supplies of those articles produced in Mazanderán, constitutes this spot a mart for those commodities; besides which, it is centrally placed with regard to Kasvín, Tehrán, Sháhrood, and the interior of Persia (being near two principal passes through the Elburz) as well as to Resht, the capital of Ghilán, also a place of very extensive trade The whole town is built in and surrounded by a forest of high trees, and none of the streets being straight, there is no one spot from whence a spectator can see to any distance. The buildings are indeed so screened and separated by foliage, that, except when passing through the bazaars, a stranger would never suspect that he was in the midst of a populous city."—B. Fraser, "Travels on the Shores of the Caspian," p. 83.

general degradation of the entire device. Whether these indications had anything in common with the ancient palace at Tambrax might be contested, but no position in the Asiatic world could have furnished a safer home for a nation imbued with plundering propensities; if a retreat through the "Pylæ-Caspîi" were not enough, there were closer strongholds within those gates,²⁸ and whatever fortunes might befall the light horse, who pushed their raids with so much boldness into far away hostile lands, there was still in their minds a safe rallying point, a tribal home which nature had made next to impregnable.

I propose to confine the remainder of this article to the representative examples of the concurrent varieties of Semitic writing in the Parthian series, and a simple description of the exceptional coins on which these characters occur. Avoiding altogether any discussion upon the historical questions suggested by Nos. 1, 2, 3,²⁹ merely calling attention to the effect the names

²⁸ Speaking of Amol, B. Fraser remarks: "This city and the circumjacent country are, however, replete with interest to an enthusiast in Persian antiquities; every hill and every point is classic ground. . . . Here are the districts of Noor and Kujoor, once so celebrated for their strong fortresses; and three short days' journey from hence, is situated the still more famous and impregnable fortress of Rustumdaur . . . it was described as a high hill, on the top of which there is a plain of forty to fifty miles circuit, only approachable by one path, so narrow that a single person might defend it against a host."—"Travels on the Shores of the Caspian," 1832, p. 103.) In the natural stronghold covering Amol, Minochehr suffered undisturbed a ten years siege by Afrasaib and his Túrks.—"Chronique de Tabari," i. 275. And, later in the day, Timúr himself was astonished at the strength of the place. "Petis de la Croix," B. iii. c xix.


²⁹ Vaillant, i. 182, *et seq.* Bayer, "Historia Osrhoena et Edessena," 87. Lindsay, p. 50.


and dates may have upon the order of the Imperial succession as at present adopted, and pointing out the peculiar combinations exhibited in the Edessa style of head-dress on No. 2 and its association with the essentially Bactrian reverse and their joint association with the name of Sanabares on the Imperial mintages.³⁰

The subjoined series of coins exemplifies the nearly consecutive use of the fellow alphabets.

No. 1. (Plate VII., fig. 1.)

Silver. Size, 4½. Weight, 58 grains. B. M. *Unique*.

Obv.—Head of king to the left, thinly but not closely bearded, with a low Parthian tiara surmounted by two rows of studs. Monogram,  = $\Sigma\Delta$.

Rev.—The usual Parthian type of the king seated on his throne holding out a bow. Monogram  (*Tambrace?*). Legend in imperfect Greek, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΣΑΝΑΒΑΡΟΥΣ.

Date in the field TIT (313 of the Seleucidan era = A.D. 2.)

No. 2. (Plate VII., fig. 2.)

Copper. Weight, 111.5 grains. B. M. *Unique*.

Obv.—Head of king to the left, lightly or meagrely bearded,

³⁰ This name is supposed to be identical with that of *Sanabassar*, "the ruler."—(Esdras, i. ii. 12, 15; iv. 18, 20. Ezra, i. 8, 11; v. 14, 16.) The derivation of the term is uncertain; the dictionaries give one of its variants as "Ignis cultor," but *Sanâ*, "light," "splendour" is the most probable basis, conjoined with *bar*, "bearing," in the one case, and *ba-âzar*, "with fire," in the other. *Sanâ* was a term largely identified with the formation of names, and we find *Sanâ* and *Sanâi* among the monograms, and the full title of *Sanâ ul Millat*, "light of the faith," figuring on the coins of the Ghaznavides. J. R. A. S. ix. 367. The Armenians speak of "Sanassor," son of Sennecherim. (Moses of Khorene, i. cap. 23, p. 103, French edition, and cap. iii. p. 145. St. Martin, *Arménie*, i. 411, mentions *Sanadroug*, "the *Izates* of Josephus.")

wearing the Parthian cap studded with jewels. Close fitting vest, with jewelled collar, and a boldly ornamented border to the outer garment. Legend. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ *μεγας*.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, holding out chaplet, as on the Bactrian coins of Mauas, Azas, &c. Legend. . . . ΣΑΝΑΒΑΡΟΥΣ.

This coin was first published in my edition of "Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities."³¹ It had, however, long been known, having been brought to England many years ago by Captain Hollings, of the Bengal Army. It was properly classed among the Bactrian series in the British Museum, but it was left for General Cunningham to detect its association with the quasi-Parthian coin (No. 1) of the same monarch.

No. 3. (Plate VII., No. 3.)

The next appearance of the local alphabets is on a coin of Arsaces (A.S. 315 = A.D. 4), which has been published in the *Révue de la Numismatique Belge* (4th series, vol. iv. p. 369), and described by M. le Baron B. de Koehne, who, by a most singular hallucination, has converted the initial letters of the name of Arsaces (𐭠𐭣) on the *reverse* into the Greek characters ΠΣ, or, in their capacity of numerals, into the figures for 280; and as he had already been obliged to recognise the proper Seleucidan date of ΤΙϚ=315 on the obverse, he proceeded to propound an elaborate theory, which was to set at rest that still undetermined problem, the true initial epoch of the Arsacidæ, by the aid of the numbers expressed in the conjoint dates. The *obverse* of this coin presents the head of Arsaces Phrahataces, with the numeral letters ΤΙϚ on the flowing

³¹ ii. 215.

fillet at the back. The *reverse* displays the head of Musa,³² the Queen Mother, with the Greek letters ΘΕΑΣ on the margin, outside the fillets, and between the fillets and the Queen's neck, looking at the coin from the same point of view as is necessary to make the Greek legible, there are seen in a parallel line, though reading from the opposite direction, the two Chaldæo-Pehlvi letters 𐭠𐭡 *ar*, the first of which partakes somewhat of the Sassanian form of the character 𐭠, while the 𐭡 is more like a Chaldæo-Pehlvi 𐭠 *g* or 𐭡 *k*, an outline, the Parthian 𐭠 was frequently made to follow, as may be seen in examples of the bronze coins described below, under No. 9,³³ as well as in the curious developments of the *r* on the money of Artavasdes, No. 13. If there were any doubt about the propriety of reading these letters as the initials of a name, it would be set at rest by the location of the monogrammatic symbol for the name of *Mousa*, which is inserted in exactly the same position, in proximity to the Queen's head, on the coins of Phraates IV. A coin of this Prince, figured by M. de Longpérier, which marks the first introduction of the bust of a female on the Parthian currency, seems to have been influenced in its details by some Oriental reserve in regard to so decided an innovation; and though the word ΘΕΑΣ is inserted in the margin, the name of the favourite is subdued into the elegant monogram 𐭠𐭡, which, however, clearly em-

³² The Italian slave erroneously styled "*Thermusa*" by Josephus, xviii. c. ii. s. 3. The name is identical with the Sanskrit *Mushak*, our Western *μῦς*, *mus*, "a mouse"—a designation still largely affected by Hindu females.

³³ See also Num. Chron., xii. Plate, fig. 1, p. 84; xvii. 167; Longpérier, Pl. xvii.; Dr. Levy, Zeitschrift, 1867, Pl. ii. fig. 13.

braces all the letters of the word ΜΟΥΣΑΣ.³⁴ In coins of a later period, all disguise is laid aside; and although the identical monogram is retained in its original position, Mousa's name and titles are given in full, as ΘΕΑC OYPANIAC ΜΟΥΧΗC ΒΑCΙΑ [ισσας] —epithets she certainly did not deserve, if we are to credit Josephus.

It may seem over-venturesome for one who has not seen the coin itself to attempt to correct the reading of so high an authority as M. de Koehne, who has had the piece under close and deliberate examination; but the truth is, the suggestion of the discovery of any new system of dating in the East had such charms for those who are inquiring into the primitive condition of Central Asia, that I tested every possible solar and lunar variety of methods of calculation to see if this new theory would hold water; but as these comparisons all ended in simple chaos, there can be little objection to submitting the leading evidence to a more practical and mechanical proof.

No. 4.

Vologeses I. (A.D. 52 to 60). "Buste barbu et diadémé de Vologèse, à dr., une verrue au front, la barbe moins longue que celle de Gotarzes, mais coupée de la même manière; derr. VOL en caract. araméens.

Rev.—1. ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ. 2. ΑΡCΑΚΟΥ. 3. ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. 4. ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥC ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ. Le roi assis, à dr., tenant l'arc; dans le champ, TA."

Being unable to refer to any original coins of this particular type, I had sedulously transcribed the above description from M. Rollin's "Sale Catalogue," under

³⁴ "ΜΟΥCΑΣ and ΜΟΥCΗC were used indifferently on the coins."—(Lindsay, Pl. iii. figs. 62, 63, and p. 171.)

the impression that M. de Longpérier, having withdrawn from circulation, as far as he was able, all copies of his *Mémoires . . . des "Rois Parthes Arsacides"* (Rollin, Paris, 1857), was desirous that the work should be altogether ignored by those who might have access to impressions still unredeemed and at large; but the Publisher's notes at pp. 521, 541 of the Catalogue³⁵ seems to relieve me of any such needless reserve; and though I should hesitate to criticise, in any adverse sense, a confessedly incomplete production, it would be unfair to conceal my knowledge of its contents, or to fail to express my great regret that such an accumulation of choice materials should even temporarily be withheld from the general public.³⁶ At the same time, recognising the excellence of the plates, I hold myself altogether free to draw my own independent deductions from the *faesimiles*, as if I were inspecting the coins themselves, though I pass by the text, even where I have examined it, as if it were still unwritten.

No. 5.

M. de Longpérier's plate, No. xiv., fig. 10, is a copy of another coin, with the letters 𐎠𐎡 on the obverse, which is not noticed in M. Rollin's Catalogue, but which the author seems to attribute to Vologeses III., as he makes the king of that name, whom Mr. Lindsay supposed to be

³⁵ "C'est encore à M. de Longpérier que la science est redevable de la découverte de ces légendes araméennes, dès l'année 1841, dans la *Revue de Numismatique française*, pages 250 et 251. Le savant académicien faisait pressentir sa précieuse découverte dans son grand ouvrage qui, à si juste titre, a obtenu le grand prix de numismatique. Il donne six rois différents, et tous ont le titre de Malca, faisant suite à leur nom propre."

³⁶ I have had to refer to this subject in a previous number. *Num. Chron.*, x. p. 146.

Vologeses III. into Vologeses IV., and so on in succession, advancing the numbers throughout the series—a process which is necessitated by the discovery of a *new* Vologeses II. The coin in question is similar in its typical details to that engraved by Mr. Lindsay under No. 86, pl. iv., and is marked by the peculiar tiara, with curled ornaments over the ridge, which is held to be special to this king in his silver currency.

No. 6. (Plate VII., No. 4.)

Mithradates. The usual size. Weight, 53 grains. B. M.

Obv.—Head of king, with formally pointed beard, flowing hair behind, but flat on the top of the head above the diadem.

Rev.—King seated on his throne, extending a bow.
Legend. At the top מִתְרַדַּת מַלְכָּא. *Mitradat Malka*.
Imperfect Greek on four sides. 1. ΒΑΙΙΑΕΑ.
2. ΙΑΝΟΥ. 3. ΕΥΗΠΙΤΟΥ ΔΚΙΑΟΥ. 4. ΠΦΑ-
ΝΙΟΥΣ ΤΦΑΙΛΛΗΕ.

One coin B.M. A second coin of Gen. Cunningham's is engraved in Longpérier's plates, and is noticed in Rollin's Catalogue under No. 8053. A third coin is also engraved in M. de Longpérier's work. The date of this reign is supposed to be after 418 up to 424.

No. 7. Vologeses IV. Silver.

Obv.—Head similar to that engraved under No. 87, pl. iv. Lindsay. On the field the letters וָל, or properly speaking וָל, for the *vau* follows the Chaldæo-Pehlvi model, while the *lām*, in this instance, is clearly and essentially after the Sassanian form of that consonant.

Rev.—The conventional type of the enthroned Parthian monarch, extending a bow, associated with the usual degraded Greek legends and the monogram for *Tambrax*.

B. M. Two coins. Dates on the larger coins extend from 389 to 489 A.S.

No. 8. Vologeses IV. Silver.



Obv.—King's head, as in the woodcut.³⁷

Rev.—The usual type with the debased Greek legends, but the opening ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in the top line is replaced by the Chaldæo-Pehlvi *Valgashi Malka*, "Vologeses king."

Monograms, TA.

The Greek has been omitted in the cut.

Nine coins in the B. M. Dates range from 460 to 488 A.S.

No. 9. (Plate VII., Nos. 5 and 5a.)

Vologeses IV. Bronze. Weight, 104 grains.

Obv.—King's head with the usual tiara. Monogram, a Greek B.

Rev.—Device, , around which is the legend

וּלְגַשִּׁי אֲרַשְׁךָ מַלְכִּין מַלְכָּא

(וּלְגַשִּׁי אֲרַשְׁתְּ מַלְכִּין מַלְכָּא).

Vologeses, Arsaces, king of kings.

I believe I may claim to have been the first to publish decipherments of these legends.³⁸ They are chiefly remarkable in reference to the present inquiry, as

³⁷ I was indebted to that enthusiastic Numismatist, the late Richard Sainthill, Esq., for the above, and for the second similar wood engraving, both of which originally appeared in his "Olla Podrida," London, 1853, vol. ii. p. 22, and subsequently in the pages of this journal.

³⁸ Num. Chron. xii. (1849), p. 84; xvii. 164, &c.

demonstrating a determination on the part of the ruling authorities of the day to emancipate themselves from the scarcely intelligible Greek, which had sunk into a state of complete degradation in its exotic life on Eastern soil, and to reclaim due priority for the local language and alphabet. The distinctive symbol on the reverse, which has been the subject of much discussion,³⁹ I conceive to have been the mere conventional representation of the sun, based upon ancient models, the worship of which was largely affected by the Arsacidæ.⁴⁰ The earliest symbol of the sun, under the first Chaldæan monarchy, consisted of a simple circle, which in advancing ornamentation was divided into four quarters \oplus , and ultimately improved into something in the form of a flower.⁴¹ The primary idea is preserved in עגל בעל "Dominus rotundus,"⁴² and its effective use under some such form of the figure of the sun is testified to in the "Imago Solis," which we are told formed so prominent an object in the ceremonial processions of Darius Codomanus.⁴³ The same simple round orb is used to represent the sun on the sculptured monuments of Persepolis, where, in the bas-reliefs which ornament each Achæmenian king's tomb, "Mithra" is exhibited in a prominent

³⁹ Pellerin, 3rd Supplement, p. 32; Mionnet, v. p. 686; M. de Luynes, Coins of "Soli," Essai, p. 64; "Ariana Antiqua," Pl. xv. fig 9.

⁴⁰ "Moses of Khorene," French edition, i. 163 and 337.

⁴¹ "Ancient Monarchies," G. Rawlinson, i. 159; Layard's "Nineveh" (1853), p. 211.

⁴² Selden, 223; Hyde, 114.

⁴³ "Patrio more Persarum traditum est, orto sole demum procedere. Die jam illustri signum e tabernaculo regis bucina dabatur. Super tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus conspici posset, imago solis crystallo inclusa fulgebat." — (Quintus Curtius, iii. c. 3, s. 7.)

position in the heavens to the front of the fire altar.⁴⁴ The old symbol seems to have undergone many modifications, according to local treatment, which it is scarcely necessary to trace in this place,⁴⁵ but I may advert to its appearance as the leading symbol on a standard of the Sassanian period, where, placed upon a lance-pole, and supplemented by a cross bar with flowing horse-tails, it is borne in front of the battle.⁴⁶

No. 10. Vologeses V.



Obv.—Front face, with bushy side curls. Lindsay. Fig. 93, Pl. 4.

Re .—Similar legends and monogram for Tambrax; but the letters, both in the Greek and the Chaldaeo-Pehlvi, are even more imperfectly formed and straggling than on previous coinages.

Dates range from 502 to 520.

No. 11. Vologeses VI.

Obv.—Profile of king (Lindsay, Nos. 94, 96, Pl. iv.) with the letters η in th field. The tiara of this king,

⁴⁴ See Ker Porter, Pl. xvii. p. 519; Flandin, Plates 164 *bis*, 166, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178.

⁴⁵ Texier, "Asie Mineure" (Pterium), Plates 75—9; Layard's "Nineveh and its Remains," ii. 213, 456; Donaldson, "Architectura Numismatica," pp. 23, 72; El Gabal (Jupiter Sol) at Emesa, A.D. 222, pp. 76, 80, 88, 98, 105, 106, 127, 150, 330; Levy, "Phön. Studien," p. 37; L. Müller, Pl. ix. (Tricca); Marsden, "Numismata Orientalia," Pl. xvii. figs. 1—7; De Sauley, Journal Asiatique, 3me série (1839), 1ere Lettre; Longpérier, Pl. xvii.; "Das Labarum und Der Sonnen-Cultus." Edward Rapp. Bonn, 1865. Lajard, Culte de Mithra., Pl. xxxv., *et seq.*

⁴⁶ Ker Porter, Pl. xx.; Flandin, 184.

as well as those of Artavasdes, are marked by an ornamental spiked or feathered bar running up the side of the helmet.

Rev.—Type and legends as in the silver coins of Vologeses IV. Six coins B. M.

Dates range from 521 to 528 A.S.

No. 12. Artabanus V. (Plate VII., fig. 6.)

Obv.—Head of king, with a plain side bar on the tiara, which is less elevated, or, rather, more encroached upon by the succession of fillets than usual.

Rev.—The usual type and debased Greek legends, with the Chaldæo-Pehlvi, הרחבי מלכא *Hartabi Malka*, in the top line.

Seven coins in the B. M. Dates range from 521 to 538 A.S.

No. 13. Artavasdes. (Plate VII., fig. 7.)

Obv.—Head of the king distinguished by a parted beard and feathered bar on the tiara (Lindsay, No. 95, pl. iv.) behind the head in the field the Chaldæo-Pehlvi letters אר.

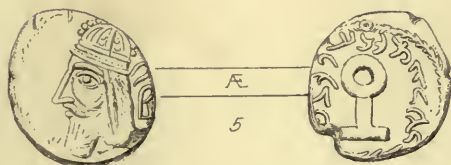
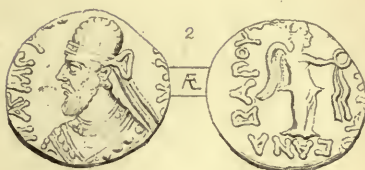
Rev.—The usual type and debased legends, with traces of ארובו מלכא (Mr. Lindsay's coin is more legible than the engraver has made it appear.)

Two coins, B.M. Date 559 A.S.

It is curious to observe the contrast in the spelling in the initial portions of these names of Artabanus and Artavasdes. The *Hurtabi* of the former seems to have been imitated from the oral sound of the Greek Ἀρτάβαρος, while the Artabazú is clearly the proper Persian form of the name ارت بازو⁴⁷ "strong arm," as we have the proximate synonyms תריבזון and פרנבזון on the coins of the Achæmenian Satraps, Tiribazes and Pharnabazes.

EDWARD THOMAS.

⁴⁷ M. de Luynes, Pl. i. figs. 1—3, 4, &c., ارد magnus. Sanskrit अरुत, Zend *ereta*, ἀρτα (*Artaîoi*, Herodotus, vii. 61) and بازو ब्राहु brachium.



MISCELLANEA.

FIND OF COINS IN BEDFORDSHIRE.

I BEG to forward to you, for insertion in your journal, a few facts relative to a discovery of coins near Shillington, Bedfordshire, in April of this year. For several years extensive works have been carried on in the neighbourhood of Shillington by persons engaged in the search for coprolites, which are prepared as a manure for land; and it has been matter of surprise that notwithstanding several hundreds of acres of soil have been turned over, no coins should have previously been discovered. On Thursday, the 9th of April, the workmen had thrown down a mass of earth, which they were proceeding to remove, when one of them struck his pickaxe through a small jar, a little larger than a cocoa-nut, smashing it up, and scattering its contents; these were small silver pieces, and were soon appropriated by the men. Mr. Weston, the manager of the works, obtained what he could from the finders, and the bulk were given up to Mr. Musgrave, the Vicar of Shillington, who, holding under Trinity College, Cambridge, made some of them over to that establishment, which are now to be seen in its library. Through the kindness of Mr. Weston I had the opportunity of inspecting a few of these coins—possibly one-third of them. There must have been upwards of 250 coins packed away in the little vessel, which I think was buried in the early part of the reign of Henry I., about A.D. 1110. My reasons for naming this date are:—

1st. That, although most of these coins show but little signs of wear, the execution of the work is so poor that it is difficult properly to appropriate their mints and moneyers; therefore they must have been struck at a time when the art of coining was but little understood; and should we not expect such a decline in the reign of William Rufus? Many of the Conqueror's coins are neatly formed and correctly struck; but these are coarse, both in design and execution. This fact inclines me to the opinion that the bulk of them were struck during the reign of William II. We learn from history that William I. at his death left very large quantities of coined money, which his spendthrift and worthless son did his best to squander, and possibly towards the end of his reign found himself necessitated to coin more, from which last coinage I believe these were derived.

2ndly. The coins were much confined to four types, being Nos. 244, 246, and 250 in Hawkins' works; also a few No. 252 to Henry I. The most numerous are those of the 250 type—this, on all hands, is assigned to Rufus, especially so by Mr. Lindsay of Cork (see *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1835). This type has a star on each side of the king's front face—the same mark appearing on William II.'s great seal. This coincidence, coupled with the rough work, tends to fix their paternity with some degree of certainty. I saw but one coin of the PAX type; but upon some of type 244 I read the obverse legend with a figure 1 after the name—*PILLELM: REX I.*, with *IELFRIC: ON: LIEPIE.* on the reverse; another had the same moneyer—*ON: LVN*; another, *DECLIR. ON. STEPNE.*; another had *GODPINE:* for moneyer. All the foregoing had I. after REX. With the exception of the Stepney moneyer, whose name I cannot properly decipher, the remainder are places and names occurring upon the coins of William I. This is against my theory, as I would assign the whole find to William II. and Henry I.; but these exceptions not being more than 5 per cent. upon the whole, does not materially alter my belief.

3rdly. There were scattered amongst the mass a few imperfectly-struck coins of Henry I.—all, with one exception, of the type No. 252 in Hawkins. Of this particular type we seem to have had hitherto but few examples. I think there were none in "Cuff's" famous collection, and few, if any, are reported to be in the national collection. These coins are badly executed, as a *portion* only of the die seems to have ever impressed the silver. London and Southwark are the only places of mintage decipherable. The weight of the coins assigned to Rufus varied from $20\frac{1}{2}$ to 21 grains; some were more spread than others, especially the 250 type, but were not really heavier than the smaller, but more compact side-face coins. I saw but a small piece of the jar which held these coins; and upon that I traced the vandyke or herring-bone ornament. It would have been interesting to discover that a hoard of Norman coins had been stowed away in a Roman-made jar, which I believe *was* the case, as several empty jars have been subsequently found in the same field—of the Roman "*Durobrivæ*" and "*Upchurch*" make.

WILLIAM ALLEN. 1871.

XIV.

TREASURE-TROVE IN CYPRUS OF GOLD STATERS.

ABOUT half-a-mile to the south of the present town of Larnaca, in the island of Cyprus, there is a site from which, during the past seven years, a large number of ancient objects in terra-cotta have been extracted. The attention of the family of the French consul, Count de Maricourt, was drawn to this spot in the most accidental manner. While taking his walk one day, the brother of the Count turned up with the point of his stick a small terra-cotta head. This induced him to turn over more of the sandy soil in the vicinity with the same rude instrument, and to his surprise he was rewarded by several more similar objects in terra-cotta. The discovery interested the whole family circle, who, ladies and gentlemen, repaired daily with walking-sticks to the spot, and never failed to return laden with some prize of more or less interest. Thus the first little collection of Cypriote terra-cottas, known as from the Salines, was formed; but ere long the secret got out, and many joined in the search. Seven years have passed, during which the field has been continuously searched, and has, strange to say, continued to yield its searchers objects of value.

About a year ago, five lads were digging in that neigh-

bourhood, in hope of finding terra-cotta objects, when one of the number caught sight of a bronze vase, lying upon its side, and out of which shining pieces (which the happy youth had no difficulty in identifying as gold) were beginning to run. The feelings of the poor finders can well be imagined. In their fear of detection and easily-conceived excitement, the division of the treasure-trove was only roughly made by handfuls, the bigger hands naturally getting more, and the smaller less. From what I have been able to ascertain, the share of each lad ought to have been about 200 pieces. I have myself purchased about 850 pieces—probably 80 pieces have escaped me, and a few may still be in hiding. Amongst the pieces which I was enabled to secure I have identified 132 varieties, of which—

29 are gold staters of Philip II. of Macedonia.

18 „ „ „ „ Alexander the Great or his successors, with the designation ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

74 are gold staters of Alexander the Great or his successors, with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

4 are gold staters of Philip III., with the designation ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

7 are gold staters of Philip III., with for legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

Mr. Stuart Poole, of the British Museum, has kindly taken the trouble to compare these varieties with those published by Müller, and those exhibited on Pl. VIII. would appear to be varieties not found in the work of that distinguished Numismatist.

Of these varieties I would draw especial attention to No. 10 of the third category. Its monogram I read as ΣΑ, and venture to give the coin to Salamis of Cyprus. We have long known the copper coinage of Alexander

belonging to Salamis, bearing on the reverse the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, with ΣΑ, and it will be admitted that the fact of his having issued copper coins is strong presumption in favour of his having issued also gold ones. But another point of interest presents itself in regard to the stater referred to. It is to be observed that it has upon the field on the reverse an eight-rayed star. This emblem appears to me a further proof that the stater belongs to Salamis, as I think it can be shown that the star was for centuries a distinguishing type upon Cypriote coins; and, further, that one coin upon which it appears enables us to associate that class of coin with Salamis. The star appears upon a small silver coin, which must belong, in my opinion, to the early part of the fifth century, B.C., and which is one of a series of coins having for obverse a lion sitting, and reverse, the forepart of the same animal. It is again found on copper coins having on the obverse a lion marching, with a ram's head above, and reverse, a horse and crux ansata. Also upon a copper coin, of which I procured two specimens for General Fox, having, for obverse, a lion with a bird upon his back, and over both a star. This coin bears plainly the legend ΕΥΑ, and is, without doubt, a coin of Evagoras, King of Salamis, who reigned from about B.C. 410 to B.C. 376.

On another class of coins, both silver and gold, of which I possess good specimens, we have on the obverse the head of Pallas, and the field of the reverse is covered by an eight-rayed star. The workmanship of these last-mentioned coins would induce us to assign them to a period close upon the time of Alexander the Great. Further, we find the star upon the copper coins of the first Ptolemy (apparently before he had assumed the title of king), of which I have found several good speci-

mens in Cyprus, and which have for obverse a female head, such as appears upon the coins of the Salaminian dynasty of Evagoras, and for reverse an eagle upon a thunderbolt, with legend $\Pi\text{To}\Lambda\text{E}\text{M}\Lambda\text{IoY}$. On these coins the star is in the same position as upon the stater of Alexander, now under notice. These facts seem to associate the star with Cyprus in its coins of the fifth and fourth century, B.C., and the coin belonging to General Fox would appear to associate all these coins with Salamis; for if *one* coin of a series can, without doubt, be assigned to a certain place, we have good ground for giving to all the series the same attribution.

In describing the position in which the vase of staters was found, I mentioned that it was lying upon its side, and that the coins, on removing the earth, began to run out of it. These facts lead us naturally to doubt whether the vase had been concealed in the position, and at the spot of its discovery. The concealer of such a treasure might have been expected to show care; first, in placing the vase in an upright position, and, secondly, in solidly closing it. Another circumstance, relating to this question, struck me as singular. The lads in their excavation, which extended to a depth of some five feet, had perceived, by traces of foundation walls, that they were in the interior of a chamber; but it was only upon going down a couple of feet lower than the site of the bronze vase that they came upon the pavement of the tenement in which they were digging. Clearly, therefore, the vase could not have been concealed or put into the position in which it was found until after the chamber was ruined, or, at least, until its pavement was covered with débris. There seems to me, however, one supposition capable of reconciling all these difficulties; and, curiously enough,

the solution presented itself to my mind, from the following circumstance which occurred within a few weeks of the discovery of the treasure. In a village of Cyprus, where I have been in the habit of spending my summers, a miser had made the wall of sun-dried brick in his apartment his money-box; indeed, *that* is the chosen hiding-place of the Cyprian peasant for his valuables. The material of the wall renders it a convenient place of concealment, as a hole is easily made in it. When made, and the treasure deposited, the hole is with equal ease plastered over with the same materials, always at hand; and when dry the spot cannot be detected by the most experienced eye. The children of the miser in question, who were frequently refused the comforts of life, on the pretext of poverty from a year of drought, found out the concealed money-box, and made free with its contents. The miser bewailed lamentably the loss of about £150 in various coins; but neither got back his money nor received any sympathy. Every one knew that the thieves were of his own household, and believed that the money was better in their hands than in his. Let us suppose that the vase of staters was deposited for concealment in the wall of the chamber composed of sun-dried bricks. Upon the ruin of the building this wall would fall in, and naturally deposit, upon its side, the bronze vase amongst the débris which encumbered the pavement.

We may safely assume that the deposit of our treasure in its place of concealment was made after the death of Alexander the Great, and during the short period which elapsed before the generals, who made themselves the legatees of the great conqueror, had begun to coin money in their own name. It will be remembered that an

important struggle took place between Ptolemy and Antigonos for the possession of Cyprus, and history informs us that Citium, having espoused warmly the cause of Antigonos, underwent a siege of considerable duration. The party of Antigonos was, however, defeated; and possibly it may have been during these events that our treasure was consigned for nigh two thousand two hundred years to oblivion. A large number of the coins never having been in circulation, and the bronze vase being of the same size and nature as those found some years ago at Sidon, it is to be supposed that the treasure formed part of either a military or regal reserve.

R. H. LANG.

October 19, 1871.

COINS OF PHILIP II.
NOT PUBLISHED IN MÜLLER.

COINS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT
WITH LEGEND
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Nº	BENEATH HORSES	ABOVE HEAD OF DRIVER.	Nº	BENEATH R. HAND OF VICTORY	BELOW R. WING OF VICTORY.	BELOW L. WING OF VICTORY
1			1			
2	<i>Bucranium</i>		2	<i>Rams head &</i>		
3	<i>Trident & Σ</i>		3	<i>Half hippocamp</i>	ΑΙ	
4	<i>Ξ</i>		4			Α
5	<i>Bunch of Grapes.</i>	Α	5	Υ		
			6	<i>Helmet with cheek piece.</i>		
			7	<i>Rams head</i>		
			8		<i>Ivy leaf</i>	
			9			
			10			
			11		Τ	
			12			
			13	Α	Μ	
			14	<i>Anchor</i>		Γ
			15			

COINS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT
WITH LEGEND
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Nº	BENEATH R. HAND OF VICTORY	BENEATH R. WING OF VICTORY	BENEATH L. WING OF VICTORY
1		ΑΑ	Μ
2		Η	Μ
3			
4	ΗΙ		
5		<i>Prow</i>	
6			
7			

16			
17	<i>Griffin &</i>		
18		Ζ	
19		Κ	
20		Η	
21	<i>& Rudder.</i>		ΓΕ
22	<i>Rudder.</i>	ΓΕ	

XV.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ DE MONNAIES JUDAÏQUES RECUEILLIES À JÉRUSALEM EN NOVEMBRE 1869.

IL y a un an, jour pour jour, je quittais Paris afin de me rendre en Orient. Je voulais, après avoir visité une fois encore la basse Égypte et vu le canal de Suez, retourner en Palestine, pour y compléter les études que j'y avais déjà faites à deux reprises. J'avais compté sans la fatale influence d'une année exceptionnelle ! Cruellement atteint dans la santé de ma fille ; frappé moi-même par une insolation violente qui me condamna immédiatement à une inaction absolue, je dus me résigner à passer de longues et cruelles journées à Jérusalem, dans une chambre d'hôtel ; et quel hôtel !

Pour utiliser autant qu'il se pourrait mon séjour forcé dans la ville sainte, je m'empressai de faire appel à tous les brocanteurs et à tous mes amis arabes du voisinage, pour me procurer le plus possible de monnaies antiques. J'en eus en peu de temps réuni un très-grand nombre, dans lequel s'en trouvaient de véritablement précieuses ; soit par la nouveauté de leurs types, soit par leur état de conservation. Ma moisson faite, je conçus le projet, aujourd'hui exécuté, de rédiger une description générale des monnaies impériales de la Palestine ; mais celles-ci

mises à part, restaient les monnaies judaïques proprement dites, dont je tenais à enrichir autant que possible la série déjà connue, grâce aux travaux publiés jusqu'à ce moment. Aujourd'hui je viens offrir aux Numismatistes un catalogue de mes acquisitions de l'an dernier, ou plutôt des pièces qui en font partie et dont l'étude paraît présenter quelque intérêt. Je laisserai donc de côté, sans même les mentionner, toutes les pièces déjà publiées et dont j'ai rencontré des exemplaires, pour ne m'occuper que de celles qui présentent des variétés bonnes à signaler, ou des types entièrement inédits ; cela dit, et sans plus ample explication, j'entre en matière.

ASMONÉENS.

JEAN HYRCAN.

Sur une centaine de monnaies appartenant à ce prince et qui toutes offrent le même type, c'est-à-dire, une légende inscrite dans une couronne, et au revers deux cornes d'abondance en sautoir, entre lesquelles se trouve ordinairement une grenade, j'ai constaté les formes suivantes de la légende nominale :—

1. חנניה
הנדר¹

2. יהו
חנניה
הנדר²
חב

3. יהו
חנניה
הנדר
חברה³
ירי

¹ Sur cette pièce très-bien conservée, on n'aperçoit pas trace d'une lettre de plus que celles que je viens de transcrire. Ainsi le nom paraît bien écrit simplement *חנניה*, au lieu de *יהוחנניה*, mais cela n'a pas trop lieu de nous étonner ; car les noms hébraïques dans lesquels le nom sacré de *יהו* sert de *préformante* peuvent très bien en être dépourvus sans que pour cela la signification du nom soit changée. Ce qui doit surtout nous surprendre, c'est l'absence de l'article *ה* devant le titre *חנניה* quand cet article n'est pas omis devant le qualificatif *נדר*.

² La légende de cette pièce est bien entière, et les abréviations qu'elle présente sont telles que je les ai transcrites.

³ Cette transcription est correcte, ainsi que les suivantes.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. וחנוּה
כהנוּהגד
לוחבר
היד | 5. יהו
חנוּהכ
הנוּהגד
...וחב...
..... | 6. יהו...
נוּהכהנ
הגל!!!
!! |
| 7. יהוּח
נוּהכה
והלדג (sic) | 8. יהוּח
נוּהכהנ
וחב ⁴
..... | 9. חג...
הנוּ...
..דלוכבד (sic)
יהדי |
| 10. הוּחנ
הכהנוּהג
דלוחבר
היהד | 11. יהוּחנ
הכהנוּהגד
לוחברה
יהדי | 12. יהוּחנ
הנוּהגד
..חברה
הדים |

Les légendes suivantes donnent pleinement raison à la lecture proposée par Cavedoni et adoptée par Madden (p. 56) :—

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 13. יהו
חנוּהכהנ
הגדלרא
שחברה
יהד ⁵ | 14. יהו
חנוּהכה
והגדלר
אשחב
היהו | 15. יהוּח
נוּהכהנוּה
גדלראש
חברהי
הדי
ם |
|--|--|--|

Viennent enfin les variétés de la monnaie où la légende commence par un Λ :—

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 16. Λ
יהוּחנ
הכהנוּהג
דלוחברה
יהודים | 17. Λ
יהוּחנ
כהנוּגדל
וחברהיה
דים | 18. Λ
יהוּחנ
הכהנוּהגד
לוחברהי
הודים |
| 19. Λ
יהוּחנ
הכהנוּהג
דלוחברה
יהודי
ם | | |

⁴ Les trois lignes de cette légende sont textuellement transcrites.

⁵ “Jean le Grand Prêtre, chef de la confédération des Juifs.”

JUDAS-ARISTOBULE.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 20. יהוד
הכהןגד
וחברה
..... | 21. יהו.
הכהן.
דלחת.
די.. | 22. יהוד
הכהןג
דלהחבר
יהדי |
| 23. חוד.
כהן.
...דולת
ברחי
ה | 24. יהוד
הכהןגד
ולוחבר
היהוד
ים | 25. יהוד.
...הןגד
ולוחבר
..... |
| | 26. יהוד.
הכהן.
דל!!
...חבר
..... | |

JONATHAN-ALEXANDRE JANNÉE.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 27. יהו
נתןחכ
הןגדל
וחברה
הדי | 28. ...
נתןחכ
הןגדל
וחבר.
ים | 29. ...
נתןחכ
הןגדל
וחברה
דים |
| 30. ...
נתןחכ
הןגדל
חברי
הדים | 31. יהו
נתןחכ
הןגדל
חברה.
הדי. | 32. יהונת
ןכהןגדל
וחברה
יהדי
ם |
| 33. יהונת
ןכהןגד
לוחב
ריהדי | 34. יהונת
כהןגד
ולוחב
יהדי | 35. נתןחכ
הןגד
לוחב |
| 36. יהו.
תןכה.
דולוחב
יהד | 37.
תןכהן
גדוחב
יהו (sic) | 38. יהו.
תןכהן.
דולוחב
יה?ם |
| 39. יונתן (sic)
הכהן
גדלוח
בהי | 40. ינתן.
כהן
גדלוח
ברה.. | 41. ינתןחכ
הןגדל
וחברה
ידי |

* Cette légende est entière.

Je ne mentionnerai que pour mémoire—

1°. Un assez grand nombre d'exemplaires plus ou moins bien conservés de la jolie monnaie bilingue de Jonathan-Alexandre, munie de la double légende ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ et יהונתן המלך, et aux types de l'étoile et de l'ancre.

2°. Trois exemplaires de la bilingue à la fleur et à l'ancre, portant les mêmes légendes.

3°. Et enfin deux exemplaires de cette dernière bilingue à la fleur, surfrappés du type purement sacerdotal à la légende יהונתן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים.

Je passe actuellement à la description des monnaies tout-à-fait inédites et qui me paraissent des plus intéressantes :—

42. *Obv.*—ΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ. Ancre renfermée dans un large cercle.

Rev.—Traces d'une légende hébraïque de trois lignes, inscrite dans le champ. Je crois y entrevoir les restes de la légende גדולו — חברהי

Plomb. 15 millimètres. Le flan a conservé les deux jets provenant de la fonte.

C'est évidemment là pour moi une monnaie de nécessité ou de guerre, émise à une époque de misère du prince juif qui l'a fait fabriquer. Est-ce Alexandre Jannée ? Est-ce Alexandre II. ? Je ne saurais le dire et je laisse à de plus habiles le soin de le décider ; ce que je puis affirmer, c'est que l'authenticité de la pièce est indubitable. Il en est de même pour la suivante, qui n'est qu'un second exemplaire de la pièce que je viens de décrire :—

43. *Obv.*—ΑΝΔΡΟΥ Ancre renfermée dans un large cercle.

Rev.—גדל dans un grenetis ; tout le reste manque. Ces trois lettres, à une intervention près, nous offrent le qualificatif גדל du grand-

prêtre, dont le nom et le titre de Cohen auraient été inscrits circulairement en dehors du grènetis.

Plomb revêtu d'une belle patine cornée. 15 millimètres. Le flan porte les deux jets de la fonte.

Voici maintenant une charmante petite pièce de cuivre, d'une conservation irréprochable :—

44. *Obv.*—Une palme couchée horizontalement ; au-dessus, en deux lignes parallèles, הכהן — יהוחנן ; au-dessous, de même, גדלהחב — היהוד.

Rev.—Une large fleur, dont la tige porte à droite une fleur en bouton et à gauche une feuille mal déterminée.

Æ. 8 millimètres.

45.—Mêmes types ; mais avec la légende ainsi coupée : יהוד .. — וחברתי — הכהןגדל — יהוחנן.

Æ. 9 millimètres.

Ces légendes sembleraient bien convenir à Jean Hyrcan ; mais mon ami, Monsieur le Comte de Vogüé, quelques jours après mon départ de Jérusalem, ayant acquis dans cette ville une rarissime monnaie, en tout semblable, sauf que le nom יהוחנן y est remplacé par le nom judaïque מנחיה, qui appartenait à Antigone, il me paraît fort probable que le Jean dont il s'agit, dans les pièces que je viens de décrire, ne saurait être le Pontife Jean Hyrcan.

Si nous remarquons qu'un usage des plus fréquents chez les Juifs faisait reprendre par le petit-fils le nom de son grand-père, ou tout au moins de l'un de ses ascendants directs, nous serons bien tentés de croire que le Roi Hyrcan, qui fut victime de la cruelle duplicité d'Hérode, se nommait Jean, comme le premier Hyrcan, et que c'est à lui qu'il faut attribuer la jolie monnaie en question. En effet, Hyrcan était le fils aîné d'Alexandre Jannée, troisième fils de Jean Hyrcan : rien donc de plus naturel que la succession des noms. En l'an 47, César confirma

le souverain pontificat à Hyrcan, et confia l'administration de la Judée à Antipater, père d'Hérode; de 47 à 40 les choses restèrent en cet état; mais en 40, Antigone, aidé par les Parthes, s'empara de la couronne et fit couper les oreilles à Hyrcan, pour le rendre, à cause de cette mutilation, incapable d'exercer le souverain pontificat.

Dès lors la monnaie de Hyrcan, frappée un peu avant cette catastrophe, fut immédiatement copiée par son heureux rival Antigone. Je classerai donc à l'année 41 les deux pièces décrites plus haut sous les numéros 44 et 45, et à l'année 40 celle de Mattathias Antigone, appartenant à Monsieur de Vogüé.

Si, de plus, nous remarquons que de la mort du premier Jean Hyrcan, arrivée en 106, à 40, année de l'avènement d'Antigone, il s'est écoulé 66 ans, nous serons forcés de rejeter toute tentation d'attribuer au premier Jean Hyrcan les monnaies que je suis assez heureux pour faire connaître le premier.

J'ai également acquis, à Jérusalem, une pièce éminemment curieuse et qui se rattache étroitement aux précédentes. En voici la description :—

46. *Obv.*—La fleur des monnaies précédentes.

Rev.—La même fleur reproduite.

Æ. 11 millimètres. De chaque côté on semble distinguer des traces d'une légende hébraïque, formée de deux lettres accostant la tige de la fleur; sur l'un des côtés on aperçoit distinctement de plus, à gauche dans le champ, la lettre grecque Σ. Il est vrai que ce pourrait être également un Ψ, mais j'en doute. Si c'était un sigma, serait-ce par hasard l'initiale du nom de ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΝ, qui pendant dix années, de 57 à 47, gouverna Jérusalem? Je ne me chargerai pas de le démontrer.

C'est ici le lieu de décrire une rare monnaie malheureusement incomplète, mais qui me semble très-importante :—

47. *Obv.*—...ΑΣΙΑΕΩΣ..... Ancre enfermée dans un cercle épais.

Rev.—....נְהָמִים.... (très-nets). Dans le champ une grosse étoile. Ce fragment de légende ne peut évidemment se compléter qu'en lisant יְהוֹחָנָן הַמֶּלֶךְ.

Æ. 11 millimètres.

Jusqu'à plus ample informé, j'attribue cette rare monnaie à Jean Hyrcan II., et à la période de royauté de ce prince comprise entre les années 69 à 66, ou 63 à 57.

J'ai recueilli un très-grand nombre d'exemplaires de la petite monnaie que Madden attribue à Alexandre II., qui n'a jamais été roi, puisque, rentré en Judée en l'an 57 où il s'évada de sa prison, il fut décapité en 49, et que l'oligarchie fondée par Gabinius a duré de 57 à 47; il serait donc plus qu'étrange, qu'un prince qui n'a exercé aucun pouvoir à Jérusalem eût pu y faire frapper la prodigieuse quantité de petites monnaies à la légende grecque, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, accompagnée au revers d'une légende hébraïque dont on ne rencontre jamais que des lambeaux de trois ou quatre lettres au plus, impossibles à déterminer. Je suis très-porté à croire que le type adopté par Alexandre Jannée jouit d'une assez grande faveur pour se perpétuer sous les règnes suivants, bien que le nom réel du prince régnant fût changé. C'est à peu près ainsi que dans le Talmud les docteurs attribuent imperturbablement au roi Jannée tous les faits, quels qu'ils soient, qui se rapportent au règne d'un autre prince

Asmonéen. Encore un mot au sujet des légendes hébraïques qui se rencontrent sur les petites monnaies en question : c'est que j'ai cru y reconnaître, sur l'une le mot מלכָה ; sur une autre דומלָן, et enfin sur une troisième דומלָן..... mais je me hâte d'ajouter que ces lectures me semblent bien douteuses.

ANTIGONE.

En outre de quelques bons exemplaires des grandes pièces bilingues d'Antigone, j'ai eu le bonheur de recueillir quelques variétés nouvelles des monnaies de ce prince infortuné :—

48. *Obv.*—מרתִי (הַהַכְחֵן) הַגְדֵּל en légende extérieure. Simple corne d'abondance.

Rev.—.. ΙΑΕΩ. — ANTIGO — NOY, en trois lignes, dans une couronne.

Æ. 18 millimètres.

49. *Obv.*—Ancre; peut-être y a-t-il eu une légende qui a complètement disparu.

Rev.—Même type.

Æ. 15 millimètres. Flan fort épais.

Ce n'est que le style et la fabrique qui me font rapprocher cette singulière pièce de celles qui appartiennent incontestablement à Antigone.

Mon ami, Monsieur le Comte de Vogüé, a le premier fait connaître une curieuse pièce de cuivre, que je restitue en toute certitude à Antigone (*Rev. Num.* 1860. Pl. xiii. No. 8). Voici ce qu'il disait de cette monnaie (p. 291), qu'il classait parmi les pièces arabes de Jérusalem :—

“ 2°. Chandelier à sept branches. Traces de légende “ illisible. *Rev.* Quatre arbres plantés parallèlement “ Æ. 3. Provenant de Syrie. Ma collection.”

“ Le chandelier à sept branches figuré sur ma curieuse pièce a la forme que lui donnent les monuments de l'époque romaine et qui est devenue traditionnelle. Il est évident qu'on a voulu sur cette monnaie faire allusion aux souvenirs judaïques ; elle me paraît donc avoir été frappée à Jérusalem, pendant la période qui sépare la conquête musulmane de l'émission des premières monnaies nominales du Calife Abd-el-Melek.”

Pour la monnaie au chandelier à cinq branches dont je possède également un exemplaire trouvé à Jérusalem, sa légende محمد رسول الله “Mohammed est l'envoyé d'Allah,” ne laisse aucun doute sur son origine. Mais celle qui offre le chandelier à sept branches est de fabrication purement judaïque. La pièce que je vais décrire le prouve incontestablement, et M. de Vogüé n'a pas hésité un instant à le reconnaître :—

50. *Obr.*—.....רתיה (lisez מרתיה הכהן הגדול). La table de proposition des pains, dont les quatre pieds avaient été pris pour quatre arbres. Les deux traverses horizontales, qui relient les pieds deux à deux, montrent jusqu'à l'évidence que l'objet représenté ici n'est qu'une table. Ce ne peut être dès-lors que celle qui reposait dans le saint des saints, et sur laquelle étaient placés le chandelier à sept branches et les pains consacrés.

Rev.—.....ΣΑΝ... (lisez ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΦΟΝΟΥ, abrégée ainsi : ΒΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΦ). Le type du chandelier est resté en dehors du flan.

Æ. 13 millimètres.

Il est bon de remarquer que sur l'exemplaire de M. de Vogüé (voyez la Planche de la Revue) on distingue très-bien les lettres Β- Σ.....Τ, qui commencent et terminent la légende. C'est donc avec toute raison que je propose de restituer ainsi cette légende—ΒΑΣ. ΑΝΤΙΦ.

Voilà, à coup sûr, une bonne acquisition pour la suite monétaire hébraïque.

51. *Obv.*—Légende hébraïque, dont les traces sont insaisissables. Dans le champ une étoile.

Rev.— AAN (ΒΑΣΙΑ . ANTI ??). Large cercle, dans lequel se trouvait probablement inséré le type de l'ancre.

Æ. 10 millimètres.

Ce n'est qu'avec une très-grande réserve que je propose de classer cette petite monnaie au règne d'Antigone.

HÉRODE.

Je ne parlerai pas des grandes pièces au casque et au trépied, parce que leurs types et leurs légendes sont aujourd'hui suffisamment bien déterminées, et je me bornerai à décrire les pièces qui complètent des descriptions déjà publiées, ou qui offrent des types entièrement nouveaux.

Madden, sous le numéro 6, a fait connaître une pièce offrant d'un côté un trépied grossièrement dessiné, accosté de deux palmes, et au revers la légende ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ autour d'une couronne ouverte par le bas et contenant la lettre X. J'en ai recueilli six exemplaires, qui complètent convenablement l'ensemble des deux types. Ces pièces ont constamment de 16 à 17 millimètres de diamètre; j'en ai rencontré une variété qui n'en a que 13, et sur lesquels les palmes ne se trouvent plus. C'est évidemment une espèce nouvelle, si toutefois ce n'est pas la monnaie très-peu définie que Madden a décrite sous le numéro 7. En voici la description :—

52. *Obv.*—Trépied.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡ . . . Υ autour d'une couronne ouverte par le bas et contenant la lettre X.

Æ. 13 millimètres. (Deux exemplaires.)

La suivante est inédite :—

53. *Obv.*—Trépied.

Rev.— YBACIAE . . . Couronne ouverte par le bas, en forme d'oméga, *sic* Ω, mais ne contenant plus la lettre X.

Æ. 15 sur 11 millimètres.

Madden, sous le numéro 5, a figuré une jolie pièce du British Museum, que j'ai eu la chance de retrouver à Jérusalem en double exemplaire. En voici la description :—

54. *Obv.*—HPΩΔΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC, caducée ailé; à gauche, dans le champ Γ, l'an 3; à droite, le monogramme Ϙ.

Rev.—Une pomme de grenade, dont la tige est munie de chaque côté de deux folioles contournées en sens inverse; dans le champ, à droite et à gauche, deux grands fleurons en forme de Σ. Sur l'un de mes deux exemplaires ces fleurons manquent.

Æ. 17 millimètres.

Il est probable que le numéro 14 de Madden, emprunté à Reichardt (*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft*, 1857, pp. 155 et 156) n'est autre chose qu'un exemplaire défectueux de la monnaie que je viens de décrire.

Le même Madden a emprunté au même auteur (*Num. Chron.* N.s., vol. ii. p. 271) la description suivante d'une nouvelle monnaie d'Hérode :—

“ 16. *Obv.*— ΩΣ . HPΩΔΟΥ. An acrostolium.

“ *Rev.*—Type not quite clear.—Æ. 3.”

Je suis ravi de pouvoir rectifier cette description d'après un très-bel exemplaire de ma collection :—

55. *Obv.*—HPΩΔΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ(Ω)Σ. Acrostolium. A gauche, dans le champ Γ, l'an 3; à droite, le monogramme Ϙ.

Rev.—Une palme, ou un épi, entre deux fleurons.

Æ. 14 millimètres.

Le numéro 17 de Madden, également emprunté à Reichardt, est ainsi décrit :—

“ *Obv.*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ, written round a garland ;
“ within the garland, the monogram Φ .”

“ *Rev.*—A helmet ; on each side a palm and branch. Æ. 4.”

Cette monnaie paraît bien n'être qu'un exemplaire mal conservé et mal compris de la pièce au trépied accosté de deux palmes. Mais il serait indispensable de la revoir pour se permettre de rien affirmer.

J'ai publié jadis (Pl. iv. de mon livre sur les monnaies judaïques, numéros 9 et 10) une petite monnaie que je classais à la suite des monnaies d'Alexandre Jannée, mais avec toute réserve, puisque je disais (p. 104 du livre précité) : “ faute de savoir à quel prince les classer, je vais décrire ici deux très-jolies petites monnaies juives d'un beau style, et qui ne pourront être attribuées avec certitude que lorsqu'un exemplaire complet nous sera parvenu.”

M. Madden (p. 75) a reproduit les deux figures données par moi, en les faisant suivre de la remarque suivante :—
“ The fabric, style, and difference of weight make it probable that they do not belong to Alexander Jannæus.”

56. Je crois mieux encore aujourd'hui que nous avons raison tous les deux. Voici pourquoi : J'ai recueilli à Jérusalem un nouvel exemplaire de cette monnaie, et celui-ci porte en deux lignes ΒΑΣΙΑ — ΕΥΧ — Si je ne me trompe pas sur la lecture H de la dernière lettre, qui est pourtant douteuse, la monnaie en question revient de droit à Hérode.

57. *Obv.*—Ancre dans un gros grènetis. Pas de légende.

Rev.—Deux cornes d'abondance en sautoir, et entre elles un caducée.

Æ. 13 millimètres.

58. *Obv.*—Ancre dans un cercle ; à l'extérieur, traces d'une légende hébraïque, où je crois démêler הכהן pour הכהן.

Rev.—Au milieu du champ, HP ; au-dessus, (B)A ; au-dessous, CAEY.

Æ. 14 sur 10 millimètres.

Il serait très désirable que l'on retrouvât un bon exemplaire bien lisible de cette curieuse monnaie, qui est tout-à-fait inédite.

Il en est de même de la suivante, qui me paraît une variété du même type :—

58 bis. *Obv.*—Ancre dans un cercle ; à l'extérieur, traces de légende indéchiffrables, dont on n'aperçoit que quatre caractères.

Rev.—....YBΔCI..., et dans le champ les lettres ω
P
douteuses.

Æ. 13 sur 12 millimètres.

Je terminerai ce qui regarde la numismatique d'Hérode en disant que j'ai encore recueilli à Jérusalem cinq exemplaires de la très-petite pièce à l'aigle et à la corne d'abondance. L'origine de cette monnaie est donc de plus en plus certaine.

HÉRODE ARCHELAÛS.

Madden (p. 93, numéros 5 et 6) a publié, d'après le Rev. Churchill Babington (Num. Chron., n.s., vol. ii. p. 66), deux intéressantes monnaies d'Archelaüs. J'ignore si les figures qu'il reproduit sont exactes ; il est à craindre, d'ailleurs, que les originaux soient mal con-

servés et peu lisibles. J'ai moi-même eu la chance de recueillir à Jérusalem un nouvel exemplaire de cette rare monnaie ; mais il est malheureusement assez mal monnayé et assez mal conservé. Quoiqu'il en soit, en voici la description :—

59. *Obv.*—Double corne d'abondance. Faibles traces de légende circulaire, dont on ne distingue plus qu'un oméga, ainsi formé ω .

Rev.—Galère mâtee, armée de cinq avirons et munie d'un roufle ; au-dessus, dans le champ, $\epsilon\theta\alpha$
— (P)XO . . — Δ L.

Æ. 18 millimètres.

Il est bien regrettable que cette pièce ne soit pas plus lisible. On y reconnaît, cependant, bien les éléments de la légende $HP\omega\Delta OY$ — $\epsilon\theta\alpha\text{P}XOY$.

60. *Obv.*— . . — $\omega\Delta$. Corne d'abondance.

Rev.—Une galère.

Æ. 12½ millimètres.

C'est évidemment le numéro 7 que Madden (p. 94) a trouvé dans les cartons du British Museum.

J'ai retrouvé deux nouveaux exemplaires du numéro 1 de Madden, qui l'avait emprunté à mon livre (Pl. vii., No. 1). Ils ont l'avantage de compléter le type de cette jolie monnaie.

61. *Obv.*—Ainsi la légende du droit est $HP-\omega_{\Delta}-O-Y$, répartie autour de l'ancre.

Rev.—Au revers on lit bien dans une couronne: $\epsilon\theta$
 AN , en deux lignes.

Æ. 13 millimètres.

63. J'ai recueilli huit exemplaires de la pièce à la proue (Saulcy, Pl. vii., No. 2. Madden, p. 92, No. 2), et j'ai pu acquérir ainsi la conviction que le prétendu trident en saillie, en avant de la proue, n'est qu'un ω (oméga). Sous la proue est un H et un P (peut-être lié à l'H), et au-dessus un Δ , de sorte qu'on lit nettement $HP\omega\Delta$. \mathcal{A} . 12 à 14 millimètre.

Je ne parle pas de la pièce au casque et à la grappe de raisin; c'est une des monnaies les plus communes de la suite judaïque, et qui n'offre guère que des différences de coin.

LES DEUX RÉVOLTES DES JUIFS.

Plus que jamais je persiste à n'attribuer à la première révolte, c'est-à-dire à celle qui s'est terminée par le siège et la ruine de Jérusalem, que les petites monnaies au vase sans couvercle, pour l'année 2 (שנה שתיים), et avec couvercle, pour l'année 3 (שנה שלוש).

Quant à toutes les autres, sans exception aucune, je les attribue à la dernière révolte sous Hadrien, révolte à la tête de laquelle se trouva Bar-kaoukab, et qui se termina par la prise de Beithar et par la destruction définitive de la nationalité judaïque.

J'ai pu recueillir une belle série de monnaies appartenant à cette dernière période, mais malheureusement très-peu de types nouveaux. Parmi les types déjà publiés j'ai remarqué quelques simples variantes, que je crois bon cependant de signaler.

Je citerai d'abord un exemplaire à fleur de coin de la pièce que Madden attribue à la première révolte sous le No. 1 (p. 167), et à la seconde sous les Nos. 1 et 2 (pp. 204 et 205), cette double attribution n'ayant pour unique raison d'être que l'absence ou la présence des

traces d'un type primitif recouvert par la surfrappe. Un pareil système de classification se réfute de lui-même. Quoiqu'il en soit, voici la description de mon magnifique exemplaire :—

64. *Obv.*— נער — שמ en deux lignes dans une couronne.

Rev.— לחרות ירושלם. Enochoé, devant laquelle est une palme.

℞. 18 millimètres. Pas de trace de surfrappe. (Saulcy, Pl. xii., No. 6.)

65. *Obv.*—Même type ; évidemment *sorti du même coin*.

Rev.— (sic) לחרות...רושל. Lyre allongée à trois cordes. A gauche, les lettres HMEZ. Restes de la légende, ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ.

℞. 18 millimètres. Madden, Seconde Révolte, No. 3.

Le rapprochement de ces deux pièces, dont l'une des faces a été frappée par le même coin, et dont l'une, suivant Madden, serait de la première révolte, tandis que l'autre serait forcément de la seconde, démontre que cette théorie ne supporte pas l'examen.

66. Pièce très-usée et trouée, ayant été probablement portée de longues années sur une coiffure de femme. Je n'oserais pourtant en affirmer l'authenticité si le type n'en était pas inédit :—

Obv.— ע — שמ en deux lignes.

Rev.— Enochoé, devant laquelle est une palme.

.. לשב לח שאר (lisez לחרות ישראל).

℞. 17 millimètres. Pièce venue de Nazareth.

Cette monnaie est bien voisine de celle que Madden (Première Révolte, p. 168, No. 4) a publié d'après

Reichardt (Num. Chron., n.s., vol. ii. p. 276, No. 21, Pl. vi. No. 7). Elle en diffère, cependant, par la présence de la palme devant l'Œnochoé; par la légende où se lisent deux lettres de plus (ר et ל), et enfin par le ש, qui dans le nom שמע est arrondi en oméga, tandis qu'il est anguleux sur l'autre face : disons bien vite, pour confirmer l'authenticité de ce spécimen, que jusqu'ici l'on n'a pas, que je sache, publié de monnaies présentant, telle qu'elle est coupée, la légende du revers; en effet, elle est continue sur le numéro 5 de la Pl. xiv. de mon livre sur la Numismatique judaïque.

67. Voici la description d'un nouvel exemplaire de la monnaie déjà publiée depuis longtemps (Saulcy, Pl. xii., Nos. 3 et 5. Madden, p. 204, No. 1) :—

Obv.— שמעון (lisez שמעון) en deux lignes dans une couronne; de la légende primitive du denier romain utilisé, il reste : ... KAIC. NEP. TPAI....

Rev.— ... לחרות ירו. Œnochoé, devant laquelle est une palme; de la légende primitive, il reste : ... MAPX.....

Æ. 18 millimètres. Pièce trouvée au Djebel-Foureidis (Herodium) et acquise à Jérusalem.

68. J'ai retrouvé un bel exemplaire de la monnaie numéro 9 de Madden (p. 172), reproduite par lui d'après les numéros 4 et 5 de ma planche xiii. Celui-ci en diffère un peu par l'arrangement de la légende :—

Obv.— שך — ער à droite et à gauche du tronc d'un palmier à sept palmes. (Toujours j'ai vu le palmier des monnaies judaïques présenter ce nombre de palmes, égal à celui des branches du fameux chandelier sacré.)

Rev.— ... לחרות — ירו. Grappe de raisin.

Æ. 18 millimètres.

Madden attribue cette pièce à la première révolte et à Simon-bar-Gioras; elle n'appartient certainement ni à l'un, ni à l'autre.

69. Voici la description d'un magnifique exemplaire du No. 1 de Madden (p. 179), attribué par celui-ci à la première révolte et à Simon-bar-Gioras :—

Obv.— שמע — ון. Lyre allongée à trois cordes.

Rev.— לחרות ירושלם. Palme dans une couronne.

Æ. 23 millimètres.

Je terminerai ce catalogue par la description de quatre M. B. de Bar-kaoukab au palmier et au pampre :—

70. *Obv.*— שם — עו (le *noun* n'a jamais existé) à droite et à gauche d'un palmier.

Rev.— לחרות יר — ושלם. Pampre.

Æ. 24 millimètres; à fleur de coin.

71. *Obv.*— ש — מו à droite et à gauche d'un palmier.

Rev.— ש' ב' לחר — יש... Pampre.

Æ. 25 millimètres.

72. *Obv.*— שם — מ à droite et à gauche d'un palmier.

Rev.— ש' ב' לחר — יש... Pampre.

Æ. 26 sur 23 millimètres. Fleur de coin. Deux exemplaires.

73. *Obv.*— שם — עו à droite et à gauche d'un palmier.

Rev.— (sic) חר שיראל.... Pampre.

Æ. 23 millimètres.

Je profite de l'occasion pour énumérer les quelques exemplaires des rares monnaies d'Hérode Antipas, que j'ai eu le bonheur de me procurer, et qui, sauf deux, proviennent tous de Nazareth.

74. *Obv.*—HPΩ... — ..TPAPXOY. Palmes à folioles rectilignes, dont trois coupées au bas de la tige. A droite et à gauche dans le champ, L — AΓ.

Rev.—TIBΕ — PIAC en deux lignes dans une couronne.

Æ. 19 et 17 millimètres. Deux exemplaires. C'est la division du numero 2 de Madden (page 97).

75. *Obv.*—..ΩΔOY — TΕ..... Même type et même date.

Rev.—TIB. dans une couronne.

Æ. 14 millimètres. Pièce acquise à Paris.

76. *Obv.*— . PΩΔOY — ..PAPXOY. Même type. A droite et à gauche, dans le champ, L — ΛΔ.

Rev.—TIBΕ — PIAC, en deux lignes dans une couronne.

Æ. 24 millimètres.

77. *Obv.*—HPΩ... — TΕTPAPXOY. Même type et même date.

Rev.—Même type.

Æ. 18 millimètres. C'est la division de la précédente. (Madden, No. 3, p. 98.)

78. *Obv.*—..TPAPXOY..... (Ici le titre TΕTPAPXOY est à gauche de la palme, tandis que sur toutes les pièces précédentes il est écrit à droite.) Palme, dont toute la tige est garnie de folioles entières, raides et serrées contre cette tige. A droite et à gauche, L.—AZ.

Rev.—TIBΕ — PIAC, en deux lignes dans une couronne

Æ. 18 millimètres.

79. *Obv.*—A gauche: HPΩΔOY — Palme garnie de dix folioles recourbées, apposées deux à deux tout le long de la tige. A droite et à gauche: L.—AH. (date un peu douteuse).

Rev.—TIBΕ — PIAC. en deux lignes dans une couronne.

Æ. 18 millimètres.

80. *Obv.*—Sans légende. Palme à longues folioles rectilignes, occupant tout le long de la pièce.

Rev.—Impossible à reconnaître.

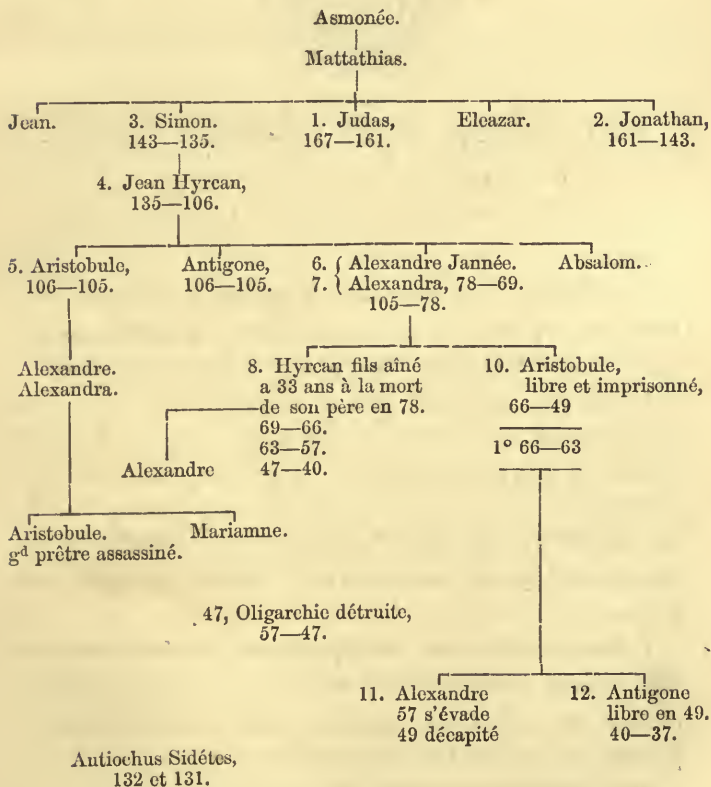
Æ. 11 millimètres.

Cette pièce est-elle d'Hérode-le-Tétrarque ? Je me garderai bien de l'affirmer.

F. DE SAULCY.

PARIS, le 9 octobre 1870.

P.S.— J'ai encore recueilli un très-grand nombre de monnaies d'Agrippa, au parasol, cent au moins ! Toutes, *sans exception*, sont datées de l'an VI. — L. 5. Je persiste donc plus que jamais à me méfier des autres dates qui ont été signalées.



XVI.



EARLY DIRHEM OF THE OMMEYADE DYNASTY.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

CAIRO, Nov. 30, 1871.

SIR,

The dirhem of which I enclose a drawing is, I think, a very remarkable one, in that it is struck in the year 79, and that it does not give the place of mintage.

In all the published lists of coins of the Ommeyade dynasty that have fallen into my hands I have not seen a record of any dirhem bearing an earlier date than this (though dinars of course are known bearing dates 75, 76, 77, and 78), nor have I heard of any dirhem of the Ommeyade dynasty on which the place of mintage is not stamped.

I therefore venture to express my opinion that this the earliest dirhem in my collection is unique (though another copy if it may perhaps exist in some unknown private collection), and that, therefore, a notice of it will prove interesting to Oriental Numismatists.

I imagine that at first dirhems, as well as dinars, were only coined at the seat of government of the reigning Khalifah, and that, consequently, it was not necessary to state that those coins were struck in that particular place; that dinars for many years were only struck in the town where the Khalifah had his mint for gold; but that dirhems being very much more in demand for general circulation, it was even in the first year of their coinage found necessary to coin them in the provinces, and that thenceforth the die contained the name of the town in which each dirhem was struck.

This dirhem is in very good preservation; and I only send you a drawing of the obverse, because the reverse is in every respect similar to that of the dirhems of a later date struck at Damascus, where this may also have been produced.

I will, with your permission, continue to send you from time to time a description of any coin in my collection which bears any peculiarity not hitherto noticed in published lists.

Very faithfully yours,

E. T. ROGERS.



XVII.

A DINAR OF BEDR, SON OF HUSNAWIYEH.

THE interesting dinâr, of which an engraving is here given, is, I believe, the only known specimen of the coinage of the dynasty founded by Husnawiyeh. It is in a very perfect state of preservation, and presents several historical records of interest.

I was puzzled, however, for a long time by some of the names, until on showing it one day to my friend M. H. Sauvaire, Interpreter to the French Consulate-General in Egypt, that gentleman gave me the clue to the records preserved on this unique dinâr.

On the obverse we find the area surmounted by two letters **و** and **ك**, which may be mere mintmarks ; then follows the first symbol, “ | la ilaha, &c. | Al Kadir billah, | Bedr ibn Husnawiyeh.” The margin states that this dinâr was struck at Sâbur Khawâsit in the year 397. Although the place of mintage is spelt without the letter **و** in the first half of the word, I cannot doubt that it is the same place whose name is generally spelt **سابورخواست**

Sabûr Khowasit, or Sabûr Khâst **سابورخاست**, for history informs us that this place formed part of the dominions of Bedr ibn Husnawiyeh, which comprised, besides this city, Ed-Dinaver, Barûjerd, Nohavend, Assasdabad, a portion of the district of El-Ahwaz, and all the fortresses and provinces situated between these different localities.

On the reverse we find in the area, "lillah | Mohammed rassûl Allah | Mejd ed dowlah | wa Kahf el ummah | Abu Talib | and beneath is a word in smaller characters which I cannot recognise. It may be an invocation (?). The margin is composed of the usual quotation in regard to the mission of Mohammed, styled by Marsden, the second symbol.

Bedr ibn Husnawiyeh, whose name appears on the obverse immediately under that of the then reigning Abbasside Khalifah, was the son of Husnawiyeh ibn Hussein, a Kurdish chief who commanded a section of the Barzikans. His maternal uncles, Wendad and Ghanem, sons of Ahmed, were emirs of another tribe of Kurds called the Yehaniyeh. They dominated for about fifty years at Ed Dinaver, Hamadân, Nohavend, Samighan, and some portions of Aderbijân, as far as the fortress of Shahrazûr. Each of these emirs commanded some thousands of warriors. Ghanem died in 350. His son Deysam succeeded him in the fortress of Kazân, where he lived till he was overthrown by Abul Fat-h ibn 'Amid. Wendâd ibn Ahmed died in 349, and was succeeded by his son Abu-l Ghanem 'Abd el Wahab, who having been made prisoner by the Shadenkhais, was delivered to Husnawiyeh, who took possession of his fortresses and of his wealth.

Husnawiyeh, by his judicious administration and by his firmness, succeeded in suppressing brigandage in the tribe

that he governed. He constructed the citadel of Sermaj and a splendid mosque at Ed Dinaver, besides sending considerable sums of money to the Haràms at Mekka and Medinah.

At his death, in 369, his sons were divided. Some joined Fakhr ed dowlah the Bûyide prince, and others joined Addad ed dowlah, another Bûyide prince. Their names were Abu-l 'Ula, 'Abd er razzah, Abu-n-Nejm, *Bedr*, 'Aasim, Abu 'Adnan, Bakhtiâr, and 'Abd el Malek. Bakhtiâr, in consequence of his mal-administration, became obnoxious to Addad ed dowlah, who deprived him of the fortress of Sermaj, and soon afterwards despoiled all his brothers, excepting only *Bedr*, whose intelligence and probity he appreciated, and he appointed him to the sole command of the Kurds. All the brothers of *Bedr* were killed in a series of revolts.

In 377 Sharaf ed dowlah sent against *Bedr* a numerous army, under the command of Karatekin ed Dahshary; but he was repulsed with some loss. *Bedr* after this victory possessed himself of Jebel and its environs, and became more powerful than ever.

In 388 *Bedr*, at the height of his power, received from the Khalifah the honourable title of "Naser ed din wa-d dowlah."

In 397 he joined abu Jaspar el Hajjaj, and made a successful expedition against Medinet es Salam. Attacked in turn by the troops of that city, under the command of 'Omeid el Jyûsh, he persuaded the general to forego further hostilities on his paying the war expenses.

In this year, 397, Mejd ed dowlah, son of Fakhr ed dowlah the Bûyide prince, who is mentioned on this dinâr under his full name of Mejd ed dowlah Abu Talib, and with the additional honourable title of "Kahf

el Ummah" (Refuge of the people), was only eighteen years old, and his mother usurped his power, exercising his authority throughout his dominion. Al Khatir abu 'Ali, ibn 'Ali, ibn el Kasim being appointed the Vizir of Mejd ed dowlah, privately persuaded the emirs to withdraw their allegiance from the mother and to remain faithful to her son, the legitimate prince of Rey, &c. The mother, suspecting a conspiracy against her power, and fearing that her son might seek vengeance and redress for the powerless state in which she had held him, placed the citadel under the command of some of her own devoted partisans, and fled to Bedr to implore his protection and assistance in subjugating the city of Rey. Her other son, Shems ed dowlah, came with troops from Hamadan to meet her, and both he and Bedr marched with her towards Rey. They besieged the city, and for some time a sanguinary conflict ensued. Bedr, however, was at length victorious, and entered the city. He took Mejd ed dowlah prisoner, and delivered him to his mother, who caused him to be put in chains and imprisoned, and placed his brother Shems ed dowlah on the throne in his stead, thus re-establishing her own authority. Bedr returned to his own territory.

The dinâr now under consideration must have been coined immediately before this episode, and probably immediately after the appointment of Al Khatir to the Vizirate of Mejd ed dowlah, when the latter was at the height of his nominal power and bearing a newly-created title of honour "Kahf el Ummah;" for otherwise we should not find the names of both Bedr and Mejd ed dowlah on the same coin.

But Shems ed dowlah only occupied the throne for about the space of one year. His ambitious mother,

perceiving a change in his tone and manner towards her, feared that he might attempt to resist the restraint in which she held him, and imagining that his brother Mejd ed dowlah might now be more docile and submissive after his long degradation and imprisonment, replaced the latter on the throne, and Shems ed dowlah withdrew to Hamadan.

Bedr was led to take arms in self-defence against his revolted son Helal, and was made prisoner. In 400, war again broke out between father and son. A conflict took place at Ed Dinaver. Bedr, abandoned by his troops, was made prisoner. Again released by his son, he again armed himself and implored the help of Beha ed dowlah, who sent Fakhr el Mülk abu Ghalib in command of an army to attack Helal, and to reduce him to submit to his father's authority.

Helal, deaf to the prudent counsels of Abu Yussef Shady, thought himself strong enough to rout the army of Fakhr el Mülk, which had already arrived at the gates of Sabûr Khâst. But early in the engagement he was made prisoner.

In 404, we hear of Tahir, son of Helal, taking possession of Shahrazur, and holding it until it was taken from him by Abu Shok, who delivered it to his brother Mohalhel.

In 405 Bedr ibn Husnawiyeh, Emir of Jebel ('Irak 'Ajamy), was killed by his own soldiers in an expedition against another Kurdish emir, Hussein ibu Mass'ûd.

Tahir, son of Helal, had sought refuge from his grandfather in the district of Shahrazûr. On receiving news of his grandfather's death, he hastened to lay claim to the estates. He made war on Shems ed dowlah, but was taken prisoner.

At the time of Bedr's death, his son Helal was a prisoner of Sultan ed dowlah. Shems ed dowlah, son of Fakhr ed dowlah, the Bûyide, availing himself of this double circumstance, had taken possession of a portion of the territory belonging to the Husnawiyeh family. Whereupon Sultan ed dowlah released Helal, and furnished him with the means of marching against Shems ed dowlah to recover the kingdom which the latter had usurped. The armies met, but Helal was defeated and taken prisoner.

In 406 Shems ed dowlah, who by his conquest of the territory of Bedr, and by the immense amount of riches he had found in the fortresses, had risen to great power, no longer feared his prisoner Tahir, so he released him and made him take an oath of allegiance.

Tahir went to live at En Nahravan, and was killed in 438 by Abu Shok in revenge for the death of his brother Su'da. He was the last of the dynasty of the family of Husnawiyeh, which rose quickly to immense power and riches by the genius of one man, and was as quickly extinguished by the immorality and incompetency of his descendants.

E. T. ROGERS.

CAIRO, *December* 12, 1871.

[M. Soret has noticed, on M. Sauvaire's authority, the fact that a coin of Mejd ed dowlah gives him the title of Kahf el Ummah. (*Rev. Belge* 4^{me} Sér. Tome IV. p. 88)].
—ED.

XVIII.

ON A HOARD OF COINS FOUND AT OXFORD, WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE COINAGE OF THE FIRST THREE EDWARDS.

THREE years ago, some workmen in digging the foundations of a house in St. Clement's, Oxford, broke with their pickaxes a small pot, of which unfortunately no fragments have been preserved, and in it discovered a quantity of silver coins of the first Edwards. The coins were, as is usual on such occasions, immediately scattered, and found their way, some into the cottages of the finders, some into the curiosity shops of the town, and some few into the cabinets of collectors. So little interest was, however, excited in the city, that, though I did not become aware of the find till two years afterwards, I was able, with a little trouble, to come into possession of apparently almost the whole hoard, and, by the kindness of their owners, to have access to the remainder. The workmen estimated the number of coins at a hundred and fifty at most; but, as two hundred and twenty-five have passed through my hands, the number must have been larger, though I think what I have seen comprise nearly the whole find. Still it is possible that some, perhaps some of the best, had disappeared from Oxford before my somewhat late attempt to collect and examine the hoard.

The chief rarities in the find are the two Berwick half-pence and the Waterford farthing. The last coin is in the possession of the Rev. C. P. Golightly. There are, however, as will be seen, some interesting coins among the pennies.

PENNIES,

With the king's name written $\mathfrak{E}DW$.

TYPE 1.

$\mathfrak{E}DW$ R' $\mathfrak{A}NGL'$ DNS $\mathfrak{h}VB$. (Pl. IX., Fig. 1.) (Hawkins, class i.).

Coins large, letters large, Roman N, bust draped.

1. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ LONDON	25
2. Ditto, but with \mathfrak{W} instead of N	5
3. As No. 1, but three pellets on the king's breast and one pellet before London	1
4. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ LINCOL (one reads $\mathfrak{C}INTAS$)	10
5. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ $\mathfrak{C}ANTOR$	5
6. VILL $\mathfrak{B}RISTOLLI\mathfrak{E}$	5
7. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ DVR $\mathfrak{E}M\mathfrak{E}$	2
8. Ditto, but with cross moline	2
9. ROBERT D \mathfrak{E} $\mathfrak{h}AD\mathfrak{E}L\mathfrak{E}I\mathfrak{E}$	2
10. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ $\mathfrak{C}ASTRI\mathfrak{E}$	1
11. VILL $\mathfrak{N}OVIC\mathfrak{A}STRI$	1
12. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ $\mathfrak{E}BOR\mathfrak{A}CI$	1
13. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ DVBLIN \mathfrak{E} (usual obv.)	2

62

$\mathfrak{E}DW$. Type 2. (Hawkins, cl. 2.) (Pl. IX., Fig. 2.)

Coins and letters smaller, N generally lacks the cross-line and becomes merely two upright lines \mathfrak{N} , bust draped.

14. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ LO \mathfrak{N} DO \mathfrak{N}	8
15. VILL $\mathfrak{N}OVIC\mathfrak{A}STRI$	4
16. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ $\mathfrak{C}ANTOR$	2

14

$\mathfrak{E}DW$. Type 3. (Hawkins, cl. 3.) (Pl. IX., Fig. 3.)

As type 2, but with a star on the king's breast.

17. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ LO \mathfrak{N} DO \mathfrak{N}	4
18. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ DVR $\mathfrak{E}M\mathfrak{E}$ (cross moline)	3
19. $\mathfrak{C}IVITAS$ $\mathfrak{E}BOR\mathfrak{A}CI$ (quatrefoil)	2
20. VILL $\mathfrak{B}RISTOLI\mathfrak{E}$	1
21. VILL $\mathfrak{S}CI$ $\mathfrak{E}DMVNDI$	1

11

EDW. Type 4. (Not mentioned by either Ruding or Hawkins.)
(Pl. IX., Fig. 10.)

More elegant workmanship, Lombardic R, annulets between words on obverse, hair more bushy, bust draped.

EDW R' o ANGL o DNS o hYB.

22. CIVITAS LONDON 3

Coins with the king's name written EDWA.

TYPE 1.

EDW R' ANGL' DNS hYB. (Pl. IX., Fig. 4.) Letters of finer and more ornamental workmanship than EDW, types 2 or 3, bust draped.

23. CIVITAS LONDON (One reads RGL, two hYB :) 27

24. CIVITAS CANTOR (One reads CANTOS,
another CANTAN, another ANG for ANGL),
another of finer work with apostrophes between
the words 16

25. CIVITAS DVRÆMÆ (cross moline) 6

26. CIVITAS DVNÆLM (crozier) 3

27. CIVITAS DVRÆMÆ 4

28. CIVITAS DVRÆMIÆ 1

29. VILL SCI EDMVNDI 8

30. VILLÆ BÆRÆVVICI 4

69

EDWA. Type 2. (Pl. IX., Fig. 11.)

As EDW. Type 4. Annulets between words on the obverse, Lombardic R, bust draped.

31. *Obv.*—EDW R' o ANGL o DNS hYB.

Rev.—CIVITAS LONDON 2

Coins with the king's name written EDW R.

Legend, EDW R ANGL DNS hYB. (Pl. IX., Fig. 5.)
As EDW, type 1.

32. CIVITAS LONDON 4

33. CIVITAS CANTOR 6

34. VILL SCI EDMVNDI 6

35. CIVITAS DVNÆLM (cross moline) 2

36. CIVITAS DVRÆMÆ (cross moline) 1

19

Coins with the king's name ΕΔΩΤΑΡΔ.

Legend, ΕΔΩΤΑΡΔ Ρ' ΑΝΓΛ DNS ηΥΒ. (Pl. IX., Fig. 6.)

As ΕΔΩΤΑ, type 1, but workmanship better; W for W, occasional in the previous types, now becomes general; bust draped.

37. CIVITAS LONDON	5
38. CIVITAS DVRÆMÆ	1
39. CIVITAS ΑΤΑΝΤΟΡ	1

7

Coins with ΡΑΧ.

ΕΔΩ ΡΑΧ ΑΝΓΛ' DNS ηΥΒ. (Pl. IX., Fig. 7.)

Reversed N, workmanship unlike any other type, bust draped.

40. CIVITAS LONDON	1
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ΕΔΩΤΑΡ' ΡΑΧ ΑΝΓΛ DNS ηΥΒ. (Pl. IX., Fig. 12).

Letters highly ornamental, N either reversed or Lombardic, W for W.

41. CIVITAS LONDON	1
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189

HALF-PENCE.

ΕΔΩΤΑΡ' ΑΝΓΛ DNS ηΥΒ.

Resembles ΕΔΩ, type 1 of the pence, but is much defaced.

42. VILLÆ BÆRÆVVICI	1
-------------------------------	---

ΕΔΩΤΑΡΔVS ΡΑΧ ΑΝ. (Star with six points.)

As ΕΔΩ, types 2 and 3.

43. CIVITAS LONDON	1
------------------------------	---

ΕΔΩΤΑΡΔVS ΡΑΧ ΑΝ.

As the preceding, but without star, and with Lombardic R on reverse.

44. CIVITAS LONDON	2
------------------------------	---

ΕΔΩΤΑΡΔVS ΡΑΧ ΑΝ. (Star with six points.)

Letters more ornamental, resembles pence reading ΕΔΩΤΑΡΔ.

45. CIVITAS LONDON	1
------------------------------	---

ΕΔΩΑΡΔVS D' ΓΡΑ' R.

Workmanship strongly resembles that of a Berwick penny reading ΕΔΩΤΑ (No. 30).

46. VILLÆ BÆRVICI. Bear's head in two quarters.

(Pl. IX., Fig. 15.)	1
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6

FARTHINGS.

ÆDWARDVS REX.

As ÆDW, type 1, and the Berwick halfpenny, No. 42.

47. CIVITAS LONDON 1

ÆDWARDVS REX ꝛ. (Star of six points.) (Pl. IX., Fig. 16.)

Neater workmanship. Resembles halfpenny No. 44.

48. CIVITAS LONDON (Star before London) . . . 12

ÆDWARDVS REX ꝛN. (Star of six points.) (Pl. IX., Fig. 17.)

As preceding.

49. CIVITAS LONDON. (Star before London.) . . . 8

ÆDWARDVS REX ꝛN.

As preceding, but no star.

50. CIVITAS LONDON 1

Æ R' ANGLIÆ.

As ÆDW, type 1.

51. CIVITAS WATERFOR 1

Uncertain farthings (struck at London) 3

26

FOREIGN.

Scotch (Alexander III. Lindsay, pl. iv. No. 71) . . . 1

Flemish (Snelling, fig. 17; Num. Chron. vol. xviii.
p. 127) 1

Uncertain Canterbury and Durham pence 2

Classified on next page 189

Total pence 193

„ halfpence 6

„ farthings 26

Total 225

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF PENCE FROM EACH MINT.

	ÆDW. Type 1.	ÆDW. Type 2.	ÆDW. Type 3.	ÆDW. Type 1.	ÆDWTR.	ÆDWTRD.	ÆDW. RÆX.	ÆDW. Type 4.	ÆDWTR. Type 2.	ÆDWTR RÆX.	Total Pence.
London	31	8	4	27	4	5	1	3	2	1	86
Canterbury	5	2	..	16	6	1	..	..	..	..	30
Durham	4	..	3	14	3	1	..	..	..	..	25
St. Edmundsbury & Rt. de Hadley	2	..	1	8	6	..	..	..	..	..	17
Bristol	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
York	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Newcastle	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Lincoln	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
Chester	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Berwick .....	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Dublin	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
	62	14	11	69	19	7	1	3	2	1	189

It will be observed that, as a basis for arranging the types, I have taken the obverse legends in the increasing order, ÆDW, ÆDWA, ÆDWAR, ÆDWARD. From the time of Archbishop Sharpe, pennies which spell the king's name ÆDW alone have been considered the earliest coins of the Edwards, and ascribed to Edward I. Not only are their workmanship and letters more like those of Henry III., but the number of mints which appear on this class of coin is greater than that of any other type; and, as we know that mints were widely distributed over the kingdom in Henry's reign, and confined exclusively to a few large cities in the time of Edward III., this fact also tends to prove that these ÆDW coins are the earliest. Mr. Bartlett¹ in his paper on the episcopal coins of Durham, went still further to demonstrate this by showing that, while coins reading ÆDW show no mint-mark,

¹ Archæologia, vol. v. p. 335 *et seqq.*

except the cross moline of Bishop Beck, who held the see between the years 1283 and 1310, those coins that read $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{A}$, $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}$ contain the mint-marks of later bishops of Durham besides.

At the same time the lighter weight, later workmanship, and general analogy with groats, in coins reading $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{S}$, fix them as belonging to Edward III.; hence the generally accepted opinion that all pennies reading $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}$ alone belong to Edward I., that all reading $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{S}$ belong to Edward III., and that all the intermediate forms, $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{A}$, $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}$, and $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}$, belong to Edward II. Mr. Hawkins, who from his examination of a large quantity of the Tutbury coins, is peculiarly qualified to give an opinion on this subject, adopts this arrangement, with the proviso that coins reading $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}$, but which add $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}$ to the title, must be assigned to Edward III.

It is indeed evident that the order I have adopted must be the natural order of the types. A glance at the undoubted coins of Edward III., two of which have been engraved (Pl. IX. Figs. 13, 14) for comparison, will show that the letters are of finer and smaller make than those of Edward I.'s earliest coinage, and whatever improvement in the art enabled the workman to make the letters smaller or less wide-spread, also tended to make the inscription longer; nor is it reasonable to suppose that the moneyers of Edward I. would have written only $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}$ if they had ample space to write $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{S}$; or that the moneyers of Edward III. should have taken the trouble to give the now well-established name $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{S}$ in full, unless fulness of inscription had been always the *summum bonum* of moneyers. It is noteworthy that the monograms and contractions, which appear on the earlier coins of Greece

and Rome, cease with increasing improvement in the monetary art, and only reappear when the tide of barbarism had reduced both nations to more than their former state of rudeness.

Such *à priori* reasoning is at least borne out by facts, for we find on these coins of the Edwards the length of the inscription increasing, as a general rule, in proportion to the smallness of the letters.

But, though this may be true as a general rule, we are not justified in every case in arranging these types simply according to the length of the legend. Thus, in the present find, the coins which I have marked as ÆDW , type 4, and ÆDWA , type 2, certainly belong to a later period than the coins reading ÆDWAR , or ÆDWARD . These indeed are only apparent exceptions to the rule, for the annulets between the words have here taken the place of an increase in the length of the inscription.

Again, it must be conceded that some of these types overlap one another, or are at least partially contemporaneous. Durham coins of ÆDWA , type 1, contain the mint-mark of Bishop Beck, who died in 1311, and also that of Bishop Kellow, who held the see 1313—1316.

These ÆDWA coins were therefore struck before 1311 and after 1313.

But Durham coins of the ÆDWAR type appear not only with the mint-marks of Bishops Beck and Kellow, but with that of Bishop Beaumont as well, and must therefore have been struck before 1311 and after 1317.

Hence it follows that coins of the ordinary ÆDWA and ÆDWAR type were partly contemporary with one another.

But coins of ÆDWA , type 1, with Bishop Beaumont's mint-mark, are, I believe, unknown; if so, the supposition that coins reading ÆDWAR are more recent than those

reading $\mathfrak{E}DWA$ may still, to a certain extent, hold good.

On the other hand, as far as I am aware, no episcopal mint-mark is known on the coins reading $\mathfrak{E}DWARD$, and this fact tends strongly to prove that this form is of a later date than either $\mathfrak{E}DWA$ or $\mathfrak{E}DWAR$ of the ordinary types.

It will be noticed that in the classification of this find, and in the above remarks, I have distinguished some peculiar coins, reading $\mathfrak{E}DW$, $\mathfrak{E}DWA$, $\mathfrak{E}DWAR$ $R\mathfrak{E}X$, which, from the style of their letters, the annulets in the legend, the broad face, and bushy hair of the bust, I have been led to consider later than any of the other types represented in this find, and to refer rather to Edward III. than to either of his predecessors. Such a suggestion affects Hawkins's arrangement in more ways than one.

Hawkins's classification has indeed already been called in question by Sainthill, who, writing to the Numismatic Chronicle² in 1851, mentions some coins of the $\mathfrak{E}DW$ type with annulets, and with or without the Lombardic \mathfrak{N} , and two coins of Durham with a Lombardic \mathfrak{N} on the reverse, as well as coins of the ordinary $\mathfrak{E}DW$ type, but with "a peculiar and spread bust" from the London, York, and Durham mints, all which he suggests should be assigned to Edward III. from their light weight and general resemblance to coins of that king.

Mr. Cuff,³ in his reply, while admitting the force of the arguments derived from the annulets and English \mathfrak{N} , prefers Hawkins's more convenient classification; but Mr. Bergne⁴ confesses "that the occurrence of the annulets, and especially the weight of the coins, shake his

² Num. Chron. vol. xiv. p. 20. Also Olla Podrida, vol. ii. p. 209.

³ Olla Podrida, vol. ii. p. 217.

⁴ Olla Podrida, vol. ii. p. 218.

reliance in Hawkins's test," though he observes that the bad condition of Sainthill's coins precluded any great stress being laid on their weight. He adds that he possesses a well-preserved penny reading $\text{ÆDWAR} \cdot \text{ANGL} \cdot \text{DNS} \cdot \text{hVB}$,⁵ and with a peculiar head, which, from its weighing little over 19 grains, he thinks must have been struck between the eighteenth and twenty-fifth years of Edward III.'s reign.

Although I was at the time unaware of Messrs. Sainthill and Bergne's suggestions, I had arrived at very much the same conclusions from an examination of this hoard, and as the weight of the coins may afford some clue to the date of the different issues, I have carefully weighed a number of selected pennies belonging to this find, of which the results are as follows:—

TABLE OF WEIGHT.

No. of coins weighed.	Type.	Average weight in grains.	Maximum weight in grains.
28	ÆDW. Type 1	$21\frac{1}{8}$	$22\frac{1}{4}$
10	ÆDW. Type 2	21	22
4	ÆDW. Type 3	$21\frac{1}{4}$	$21\frac{3}{4}$
3	⁶ ÆDW. Type 4	17	19
38	$\text{ÆDW} \cdot \text{Type 1.}$	$20\frac{3}{4}$	$22\frac{3}{4}$
3	⁶ $\text{ÆDW} \cdot \text{Type 2.}$	16	$17\frac{1}{2}$
7	$\text{ÆDW} \cdot \text{R.}$	$21\frac{1}{4}$	$22\frac{1}{2}$
4	$\text{ÆDW} \cdot \text{RD}$	$21\frac{1}{16}$	22
1	⁶ $\text{ÆDW} \cdot \text{R} \cdot \text{X}$	$18\frac{1}{2}$	—
1	$\text{ÆDW} \cdot \text{R} \cdot \text{X}$	$20\frac{3}{4}$	—

Let us now recapitulate what is known as to the weight of coins of this period from historical sources.

In A.D. 1300 Edward I. reduced the standard from $22\frac{1}{2}$ to $22\frac{1}{4}$ grains.

⁵ Query, are the dots between the words meant for annulets?

⁶ Annulet types.

During the reign of Edward II. the penny was kept at 22½ grains.

In A.D. 1344 Edward III. reduced it to 20½ grains.

In A.D. 1346 to 20 grains.

In A.D. 1351 to 18 grains.

It can be easily seen, from the result of weighing the coins in this find, that those struck before 1300 cannot by this criterion be distinguished from those issued shortly after that date. Mr. Hawkins, after weighing a number of the Tutbury coins, arrived at the same conclusion. But in weighing the coins of the annulets, the Lombardic R, and the bushy hair, a very decided difference is perceptible. Thus the coins in this find reading EDW of this class weigh only 17 grains on an average as compared with 21 grains in all other types with the same legend, and seven good specimens of the same class of coin, but not from this find, weigh 18½ grains on an average.

Again, the coins of the same type reading EDWA weigh only 16 grains on an average, as compared with 20½ grains in the ordinary EDWA coins; and the average weight of four excellent specimens, not from this find, is 18½ grains, while twelve pence of these later types weighed by Mr. Sainthill averaged only 17½ grs.

To these must be added the coin from this find, of very late appearance, reading EDWAR REX, and weighing 18½ grains.

If we compare the weight of these coins with those reading EDWARDVS, and belonging undoubtedly to Edward III., it will be evident that both must be assigned to the same period.

I have weighed six representative specimens with the legend EDWARDVS, of which three are Durham coins, with the crozier mint-mark, and therefore, according to

Mr. Bartlett,⁷ dating no earlier than 1345, when Bishop Hatfield succeeded to the see. Their average weight is $17\frac{2}{3}$ grains.

Nor does the result of weighing alone corroborate the evidence to be derived from the *facies* of these coins. There remain, besides, two very strong arguments to prove that these must at least be later than the other coins from this hoard. In the first place, among over fourteen hundred coins of the Tutbury find examined by Mr. Hawkins *not one of this type appears*, though coins of every other type in the present hoard are there represented. Hawkins has fixed the date of the Tutbury hoard between the years 1321—1329, the latter date resting only on the negative evidence afforded by the absence of the coins of David II. of Scotland. He has also adduced specious reasons for believing that it was lost by the Earl of Lancaster when routed and captured by Edward II. in 1322. This, however, is at most a probable conjecture, which some—including the present writer—may be inclined to doubt. The second fact—which is even more conclusive—is that in over fourteen hundred coins of the Wyke find, described by Messrs. Sharpe and Haigh,⁸ which, from the presence of a coin of Louis of Bavaria with the title ROM. IMPR, must have been secreted after 1329, this type is also absent.

The appearance of these coins answers in nearly every respect to that of the well-known types of Edward III. The annulets—one of the most striking characteristics of the later period—are generally present, and the face has that peculiar bushy hair always to be seen on Edward III.'s

⁷ Archæologia, vol. v. p. 335 *et seqq.*

⁸ Archæologia, vol. xxviii. p. 47.

pennies, and which makes the king's effigy look broad in comparison to its height.

As far as I am aware, the annulet coins of the EDW, EDWA, types only occur of the London mint; but there are also coins of the same mint similar in their light weight, the king's head, and generally the Lombardic R, but without the annulets, though not represented in the present find, and of this type I possess a York penny,⁹ while Sainthill¹⁰ also mentions Durham pence. Since the appearance of these coins certainly justifies us in considering them contemporaneous with the annulet coins, it is at least suggestive that London, York, and Durham, the only mints of Edward III.'s undoubted pence, should be also the only mints of which these coins are found.

It will be well, however, not to lay too much stress on the presence of the Lombardic R, unaccompanied by other characteristics; for not only is this letter often absent on these EDW, EDWA coins of light weight and with the bushy hair, but also it is even sometimes absent from those unquestionable pence of Edward III. reading EDWARDVS; while, on the other hand, as is well known, it is often present on coins of Henry III., and not only is it common on Berwick coins of the ordinary EDWA type, but I have also seen it on a penny of Robert de Hadeleie, which, from the curious way in which Robert's name is contracted, and the analogy it thus bears to Henry III.'s coins, or coins with Henry's name on them, must be referred to a very early period of Edward I.'s coinage.

The following is a list of the different varieties of these later types that have come to my knowledge:—

⁹ Pl. IX. No. 8.

¹⁰ Olla Podrida, vol. ii. p. 210.

ÆDW R' o ANGL o DNS o hVB. (Pl. IX., Fig. 10.)

ÆIVITAS LONDON, ÆIVITAS LONDON.¹¹

ÆDW R' o ANGL o DNS o hVB (sometimes **N** for N).
Pl. IX., Fig. 9.)

ÆIVITAS LONDON,¹¹ ÆIVITAS LONDON,
ÆIVITAS LONDON.

ÆDW R' ANGL' DNS hVB (sometimes **N** for N). (Pl.
IX., Fig. 8.)

ÆIVITAS LONDON, ÆIVITAS LONDON, ÆIVITAS
ÆBORACI (quatrefoil) and ÆIVITAS DVNÆLM.¹¹

ÆDWÆ R' o ANGL o DNS o hVB. (Pl. IX., Fig. 11.)

ÆIVITAS LONDON.

ÆDWÆ R' ANGL DNS hVB.

ÆIVITAS LONDON.

If we compare the above pence with the gold coinage of Edward III., it will be seen that the shortened form of the name ÆDW or ÆDWAR is not peculiar to the coins of Edward I. or II.; for on the florin struck in 1343-4, and on the quarter florin, the name appears in the same abbreviated form, ÆDW; on an unpublished half noble with annulets in the angles of the cross on the reverse, in my father's cabinet, it appears simply as ÆD; and on the noble of Edward III.'s twentieth year as ÆDWAR.

In fine, while their appearance and the negative evidence to be derived from the great finds at Tutbury and Wyke, induce me to assign all these coins to Edward III., their light weight further postpones their date till at least 1344, when the weight was first substantially lowered. It is indeed strange that a class of coins so marked, and of by no means unfrequent occurrence, should have been entirely overlooked by both Ruding and Hawkins.

¹¹ Sainthill is my authority for these. Oll. Pod., loc. cit.

But this result leads us a step further. If these coins were struck in 1344, and yet, as Hawkins and others conclude, all coins reading EDWA , EDWAR , EDWARD are to be assigned to Edward II., who died in 1327, what coins are to be assigned to the intervening gap of seventeen years? It cannot be the coins reading EDWARDVS —they are of as light weight and late workmanship as these; not the coins reading EDWARD ANGL R —they are as late in form as the preceding, and of lighter weight; nor are either of these or other later types represented at all in the present find.

The obvious, indeed the only, conclusion to be drawn is that the coins reading EDWA , EDWAR , EDWARD , and EDW REX continued to be issued, some or all, till as late as 1344. Edward II. reigned barely twenty years, while the reign of Edward III. extended over half a century; and yet, as coins are at present discriminated, how far more common are the coins of Edward II. than those of Edward III.! Surely this fact in itself ought to suggest some fallacy in the present classification. If Edward III.'s coins all read EDWARDVS , where are the heavy coins with that legend? If they do not exist, and there *was*, even between 1327 and 1344, a coinage in England, then, *par voie d'exclusion*, we must look for other legends.

Let us here remark that the Wyke find, which was buried, at the earliest, in the third year of Edward III., and possibly at a considerably later date, contains no types later than the ordinary EDWA , EDWAR , EDWARD , and EDW REX pence. The inference is obvious.

I have above hinted my doubts as to the correctness of the date assigned by Hawkins for the deposit of the Tutbury hoard, namely, the year 1322. In the first place,

there were found several coins of John, King of Poland and Bohemia, who, on Hawkins's own showing, could not have taken that title till 1321 at the earliest; in the next place, if we assume that these annulet coins of light weight belong to Edward III., and to be after the date 1344 (and if we do not, we must allow the moneyers who struck them a gift of prophecy not to be found at the present day); then we have the remarkable fact to account for that though the types of the coinage repeatedly changed immediately before 1322 and immediately after 1344; yet between those dates—during a period of twenty-two years—the coinage remained without the slightest modification of type; for in the present find the only types not also to be found in the Tutbury hoard, are these annulet coins.

Again, what is the value of Hawkins's negative evidence? Surely the absence of coins of David II. proves nothing when we remember that in the Wyke find, which, as we have seen, must have been buried after 1329 at the earliest, and of which an equal number of coins have been examined to those of the Tutbury find, out of twenty-two foreign coins that were there found, only two necessarily date after 1314, and that though four coins of Alexander III. were found, which must therefore have been struck before 1292, yet no coins of David II., or even Robert Bruce¹² were there discovered.

But there is another remarkable class of coins about which I have not yet spoken, namely, those reading EDW REX . They are found, to my knowledge, only of the London Mint, and are distinguished by their general appearance and peculiar head and crown in particular from every other

¹² Though his coins occur in a selection I have seen from the Tutbury find.

class of coins. Yet as far as they resemble any types of coins, they resemble those of Edward III. One of the characteristics which distinguish the undoubted coins of Edward III. from the earlier coinages, is the fineness of the lines which form the cross on the reverse. The cross on Edward I.'s coinage is broadly spread, and naturally so, for it is formed from the coalescing of the bifid cross on Henry III.'s coins; the same is to a slightly less extent the case on the ordinary EDWA , EDWAR , and EDWARD types; but these EDW REX coins are distinguished by the fineness of their cross; although then, their weight¹³ shows that they were struck before 1344, still I am inclined to consider them generally later than the types mentioned above.

Now these coins occur in the Tutbury find, and one coin in that find adds to its other later characteristics the Lombardic N . They occur also in the Wyke find, *but in less numbers than in the Tutbury hoard*.¹⁴

If these annulet coins are to be assigned to Edward III., and still more if other coins—for instance, those reading EDWARD and EDW REX —are to be assigned to the same king, it is evident that Hawkins's distinction that all coins with the drapery about the neck belong to Edward I. or II. must fall through, as all these pence have drapery, except, perhaps, the annulet coin reading EDWAR REX , which is possibly the latest coin in the present find.

¹³ The average weight of four good specimens of this type is $21\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

¹⁴ At the same time it is only fair to observe that the fact that four Anglo-Gallic coins were found in the Wyke hoard and none at Tutbury rather tends to show that the Tutbury hoard was slightly the earlier of the two.

THE HALFPENCE.

WEIGHT.

Number of
coins weighed.

1. $\text{EDW}\pi \text{ R } \pi \text{NGL DNS hVB.}$

Rev.— $\text{VILLA B\text{E}R\text{E}VVICI}$, 10 grs., though in bad condition.

1. $\text{EDW}\pi \text{RDVS R\text{E}X \pi N}$ (star).

Rev.— CIVITAS LONDON , 10 grs.

1. Same as preceding, but letters more ornamental, $9\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

2. $\text{EDW}\pi \text{RDVS R\text{E}X \pi N.}$

Rev.— CIVITAS LONDON , $9\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

1. $\text{EDW}\pi \text{RDVS D' GR}\pi \text{ R.}$

Rev.— $\text{VILL}\pi \text{ B\text{E}RVICI}$ (bears' heads), $8\frac{1}{4}$ grs. (Pl. IX. Fig. 15.)

From this table it will be seen that the Berwick halfpenny (Pl. IX. Fig. 15), interesting as being (with the exception of the pattern groats of Edward I.) the first English coin on which the title *Dei Gratia*¹⁵ appears, weighs only $8\frac{1}{4}$ grains, though in excellent preservation, as contrasted with 10 grains in the other halfpenny from the same mint, which is, unfortunately, in execrable condition. This Berwick halfpenny, which has the bears' heads on its reverse, in allusion to the name of the town, differs slightly from the types mentioned in Ruding and Hawkins in reading $\text{D' GR}\pi \text{ 'R}$, instead of D' GR' , or $\text{D\text{E}I GR\pi}$, and is, from its striking resemblance to a penny of the same mint, reading $\text{EDW}\pi$, probably to be referred to the same issue. The heavier and ill-preserved Berwick halfpenny resembles more the EDW type 1 in style, and was probably

¹⁵ This may be connected with the proximity of Berwick to Scotland, on the coins of which country the *DEI GRA* became common at an earlier period than in England.

struck shortly after 1296, when Berwick was taken by Edward I.

With regard to the London halfpence, that with the Lombardic Ω ought possibly to be referred to the issue of 1344.

FARTHING.

TABLE OF WEIGHT.

Number of coins weighed.		Average	
		in grs.	Max.
6.	$\text{EDWARDVS REX } \pi$ (star). CIVITAS (star) LONDON. (Pl. IX., Fig. 16) . .	$5\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$
7.	$\text{EDWARDVS REX } \pi$ (star). CIVITAS (star) LONDON. (Pl. IX., Fig. 17) . .	$4\frac{2}{2}\frac{3}{8}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$

The two coins reading $\text{EDWARDVS REX } \pi$, and EDWARDVS REX , are badly preserved, and weigh each only $3\frac{1}{4}$ grains; the appearance of the latter coin approaches that of pennies reading EDW .

The other types (Pl. IX., figs. 16 and 17) are very like one another, and of later workmanship; their weight, however, shows that they were probably struck before 1344.

From what I have already said, it will be seen that I consider this find to have been buried or lost after 1344, how long after, is another question; but, though in so small a find negative evidence is of little value, the absence of any pence reading EDWARDVS makes it probable that the deposit took place shortly after that year. It is unfortunate that the only foreign sterling discovered in this hoard is one of those struck at Arleux of uncertain attribution, and, therefore, affording no evidence as to date.

ARTHUR JOHN EVANS.



1 (*Edw. T. 1*)



2 (*Edw. T. 2*)



3 (*Edw. T. 3*)



4 (*Edwa. T. 1*)



5 (*Edwar.*)



6 (*Edward.*)



7 (*Edw. Rex.*)



8 (*Edw. T. 4*)



9 (*Edw. T. 4*)



10 (*Edw. T. 4*)



11 (*Edwa. T. 2*)



12 (*Edwar Rex.*)



13 (*Edward III*)



14 (*Edward III*)



15



16



17





XIX.

NOTICE OF SOME UNPUBLISHED VARIETIES OF SCOTTISH COINS.

By R. W. COCHRAN PATRICK, Esq., B.A., LL.B., F.S.A., Scot.

THE coinage of Scotland—though from the poverty of the people and other causes limited in extent—is nevertheless remarkable for the great variety of types which occur. Every one who has collected Scottish coins to any extent will occasionally find varieties which are not given, even in the copious and valuable works of Mr. Lindsay, or in the later “Illustrations of the Coinage of Scotland,” by Mr. Wingate.

Those which are now noticed all occur in the far from extensive cabinet of the author, and are believed to be hitherto unpublished. Some of them are merely varieties, differing in no essential particulars from those already published; while others, such as the Roxburgh penny of the second coinage of Alexander III., the penny of John Baliol, the halfpenny of David II., and the half plack of James VI., are not unimportant additions to the series of the coins of Scotland.

It is much to be desired that those who have collections of Scottish coins would communicate unnoticed

types, mints, and moneyers. There are many blanks existing in the series, and though some of these are now almost hopeless, others may yet be filled by coins which still exist unknown or unnoticed.

The coins now noticed are arranged chronologically.

1. Penny of William the Lion. Second coinage. Type as Lind., ii. 41.

Obv.—WILLÆLMVS REX . . α . . (retrograde). Lindsay, ii. 41.

Rev.—PÆRIS ADAM DÆ ROCÆB.

This coin seems to supply a link at present wanting in the published types of the Roxburgh mint of William the Lion's second coinage. Both Lindsay (Pl. 2, Fig. 41) and Wingate (Pl. 3, Fig. 5) have figured Roxburgh pennies of a similar type, in which indications of letters are given after the word REX, though not clearly enough to give a distinct reading. The specimen now given, though far from being as legible as might be wished, still seems to show a "α" distinctly enough to hazard a conjecture that the legend was meant to be REX SCO.

2. Penny of William the Lion. Second coinage.

Obv.—Very rude head to left (similar to Lind., ii. 40).
‡ LÆ RÆI WI . . .

Rev.—Short double cross, with two stars of seven and two of six points, with ‡ HÆNILÆ . . VS, retrograde.

This very rare variety of the penny of the second coinage differs from the only one of the same type given by Lindsay (Pl. 2, 39) in having the moneyer's name retrograde, and without the points which divide the . . V : S from the rest of the name in the published specimen.

3. Penny of William the Lion. Second coinage.

Obv.—Rude head to left with sceptre. LÆ RÆI W . . .

Rev.—Short double cross, with one star of five and three of six points. · · ENRILE · ·

The usual type of the reverse of the second coinage of William the Lion bears stars of six points. Less frequently we find stars of five points, and more rarely still, combinations of these. Though not of the same degree of rarity as the coin just given (No. 2), the star of five points with three of six is far from common. It occurs three times in Mr. Lindsay's Des. Cat. (Nos. 59, 61, 69), and once in Mr. Wingate's work (Pl. 3, No. 11), and in each case the moneyer seems to be HVE WALTER. Its occurrence here with a different moneyer is interesting, and unnoticed hitherto.

4. Penny of Alexander III. Second coinage.

Obv.—Head to right with sceptre. (Similar to Lindsay, Des. Cat., 118.) ·ALÆXANDÆR RÆX.

Rev.—Long double cross, with stars of six points. ANDRÆV ON RO :

This mint has been, as yet, unpublished amongst the pennies of the second coinage of this king.

5. Penny of Alexander III. Second coinage.

Obv.—Head to right with sceptre and curiously-shaped crown. Legend as No. 4.

Rev.—Long double cross, with stars of six points. ADAM ON

This coin is remarkable for the unusual shape of the crown, which appears more like a cap or hat than the insignia of royalty usually worn. This moneyer is hitherto unpublished in connection with this coinage.

6. Penny of Alexander III. Third coinage.

Obv.—Ordinary type, with legend as usual.

Rev.—Long double cross, with stars of six points in angles. WALTER ON M

The pennies of this mint are all very rare. They usually read MVN. (See Lindsay, Des. Cat., 174; Wingate, Pl. 6, 5.)

7. Penny of Alexander III. Third coinage.

Obv.—As above. ALEXANDER REX.

Rev.—ION ON . . . RD.

The coinage of Aberdeen is also very rare. The moneyer here given is hitherto unpublished with this mint.

8. Penny of Alexander III. Fourth coinage.

Obv.—Similar to Lindsay, Des. Cat., 167.

Rev.—Similar to Lindsay, Des. Cat., 167; but with point in third angle.

Two varieties of this coinage, with points and mullets, have been already noticed (Lindsay, Des. Cat., 164; Wingate, Sup., Pl. 2, Fig. 3; Lindsay, No. 24, Des. Cat., in First Supp.), one having two points in one angle, and one in the opposite, and the other with two points in one angle only. The one now given completes this series.

9. Penny of John Baliol.

Obv.—Ordinary type. (As Lindsay, 179, Des. Cat.)
IOHANNES DEI GRA

Rev.—Long single cross, with one star of seven points; one mullet of seven points, and two mullets of six points. REX SCOT . . ORVM+

This important variety differs in the reverse from all

the coins of this prince as yet noticed. It is in excellent preservation.

10. Halfpenny of David II.

Obv.—The king's head crowned, with sceptre, to the left.

✠ DAVID : DEI : GRA : RX

Rev.—Long single cross, with mullets of five points in two of the angles. ✠ AVID : SCOTTOR.

This singular little coin is an entirely new variety. It appears from the style of workmanship to belong to the third coinage. The weight is barely 8 grains.

11. Half plack of James VI.

Obv.—The lion of Scotland crowned in a shield. IACOBVS
· · · SCOTOR.

Rev.—A thistle crowned. OPPIDVM · · INBVRGI ·

Half placks of this reign are of the highest degree of rarity. When Mr. Lindsay first wrote his view of the Scottish coinage, no specimen was known to exist (p. 186), though the discovery of one is noted in the advertisement (p. 287), and is figured in Pl. 17, No. 45. In the first supplement (p. 28) it is stated that two or three are known to exist, though apparently of the same type as the one already figured in the plate of the original work. The variety now noticed differs from all the published specimens in reading IACOBVS and SCOTOR on the obverse, and the place of mintage in full on the reverse. It is in a fair state of preservation, and weighs 11 grains. It was first communicated by me in a paper to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in June of last year.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

In the *troisième livraison* of the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, for 1871, are the following articles:—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and *Pièces de Nécessité*," Supplement (2nd article), by M. le Lieut.-Colonel P. Maillet.

2. "Descriptive Notice of Tokens (*méreaux*) found at Thérouanne, and which may be attributed to that town," by M. Deschamps de Pas.

3. "The Ancient Mint of the Dukes of Brabant, at Antwerp," by M. P. Génard.

4. "The Badge worn by the Belgian Representatives in the year 1834," by M. R. Chalon.

In the *Mélanges* are notices of M. Ch. Wiener's medal commemorating the unification of Germany; of the projected new coinage for the German Empire; of M. Salinas' new work on the ancient coins of Sicily, &c.

In the *quatrième livraison* of the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, for 1871, are the following articles:—

1. "Catalogue of Obsidional Coins and *Pièces de Nécessité*," Supplement (3rd article), by M. le Lieut.-Colonel P. Maillet.

2. "Descriptive Notice of Tokens (*méreaux*) found at Thérouanne, and which may be attributed to that Town," by M. Deschamps de Pas.

3. "Numismatic Curiosities—Rare or Unedited Coins" (17th article), by M. R. Chalon.

In the *Mélanges* is a notice of the medal by M. Wiener offered by the Peruvian Government to the Presidents of the four Republics which formed a defensive alliance against Spain in 1866. This fine medal will be one of the numismatic rarities of our time, as M. Wiener has only obtained authority to strike one dozen examples of this piece in bronze for himself and his friends. The masonic sign worn by the members of the Commune of Paris during the second siege is next noticed. The *Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, and its last published volume, *L'Annuaire de 1868*, are also reviewed.

In the *Nécrologie* is a notice of the life of M. Ulysse Capitaine, who died at Rome on the 31st March, 1871. He was a native of Liège, and devoted to the study of the numismatics of the Low Countries, and especially of the ancient province of Liège.

The *Berliner Blätter*, vol. vi. Part I., contains the following articles :—

1. "On the Double Eagle : its Origin, &c.," by M. le Baron von Koehne.
2. "On the Coins of Tyras," by M. A. Grimm.
3. "On the Numismatic History of the Town of Berlin," Part III. (private tokens), by M. F. A. Vossberg.
4. "Albert Barre," by M. le Baron von Koehne.
5. Accounts of recent Coin-Finds.
6. "Miscellanea," containing a notice of the life of the Oriental numismatist, Johann von Bartolomæi, by M. le Baron von Koehne.
7. The newest current coins.
8. The most recent medals.
9. The latest numismatic literature.

The volume of the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* for 1870, published at Vienna by M. C. W. Hüber and Dr. J. Karabacek, contains the following articles :—

1. "Supplement to Phœnician Numismatics," by M. H. C. Reichardt.
2. "On the Interpretation of Π IB and EMI on certain Coins of Segesta," by Dr. J. Friedlaender.
3. "The Temple of Adonis at Byblos on the Coins of the Emperor Macrinus," by M. H. C. Reichardt.
4. "On the Coins of Vaballathus and Zenobia," by Dr. A. von Sallet.
5. "An Unpublished Quinarius of the Satriena Gens," by M. J. Neudeck.
6. "On the Coins of Arabic Mintage with the Letters $\Lambda\epsilon\omicron$, etc.," by Dr. Karabacek.
7. "Numismatic Notes from the Archives of the Five Lower Austrian Provinces," by Dr. A. Luschin.
8. "The Find of Bracteates at Fuessen," by Dr. F. Reber.
9. "On the Coins of the Republic of Ragusa," by M. le Professeur Dechant.
10. "Sequin of Meinhard VII., Count of Goerz, 1374—1385," by M. H. Grote.
11. "An Attempt at a Systematic Description of the Coins of Venice according to their types," by M. C. von Wachter.
12. "Austrian Coins since the Monetary Convention of Vienna," by M. Ernst.
13. "Unpublished Greek Coins acquired during 1870," by M. de Prokesch-Osten.
14. "On some remarkable Coins of Lower Italy and Sicily," by Dr. A. von Sallet.

15. "The Coins of Phanagoria, bearing the names of Agrippias and of Cæsarea, and the head of Livia," by M. J. Friedlaender.

16. "A Geographico-Mythological Exposition of the Nomes of Egypt; from the Monuments," by Dr. H. Brugsch.

17. "A Numismatic Excursion from Constantinople to Bithynia and Paphlagonia," by M. P. Clement Sibilian.

18. "Some Rectifications in Combe's 'Descriptio Nummorum veterum Gulielmi Hunter, 1782,'" by Dr. J. Friedlaender.

19 (a). "Notice of the localities in Persia where coins have been discovered."

19 (b). "On three rare coins of Armenian dynasts," by M. Cl. Sibilian.

20. "On a Coin of Ptolemais in Pamphylia," by Dr. J. Friedlaender.

21. "On the Coins of Amorgos," by Dr. Paul Becker.

22. "On the Objects represented on the Coins of Aegiale," by Dr. J. Friedlaender.

23. "Essay on Ancient Egyptian Numismatics (Ptolemy V., Epiphanes, and Cleopatra I., queen-mother and regent)," by M. C. W. Hüber.

24. "Unpublished Roman Coins," by M. F. R. Trau.

25. "Unpublished Coin of the Roman Emperor Vaballathus," by Dr. Missong.

26. "On a Roman Proof-piece," by Dr. Missong.

27. "Byzantine Marks," by Dr. J. Friedlaender.

28. "Critical Supplement to the Latino-Arabic Numismatics," by Dr. J. Karabacek.

29. "The Coinage of Pettau-Friesach," by Dr. A. Luschin.

30. "The Coins of the Counts of Geneva," by M. A. Sattler.

31. "German Inscriptions on Mediæval Coins," by M. Dannenberg.

32. "Gigliato of the Turcoman Prince Omar-beg of Ionia," by Dr. Karabacek.

33. "Italian Medallion of the Bastard Antoine de Bourgoyne," by Dr. J. Friedlaender.

34. "On Two Jetons of Henri Pontet, *maire-échevin* of Metz," by Count Folliot de Crenneville.

35. "On the New Gold Coins of Austria," by M. C. Ernst.

The volume concludes with notices of recent literature, &c.

“Die Münzsammlung des Stiftes St. Florian in Ober-Oesterreich, in einer Auswahl ihrer wichtigsten Stücke beschrieben und erklärt von Friedrich Kenner, nebst einer die Geschichte der Sammlung betreffenden Einleitung von Joseph Gaisberger.” Vienna, 1871. 4to.

The festival in celebration of the completion of the eighth century since the foundation of the Monastery of St. Florian, near Ens, in Upper Austria, in 1071, was held in August last, and the present work is an offering worthy of the occasion, bearing testimony to the zeal with which scientific research has been prosecuted by the members of this ancient institution. The first twenty-eight pages are devoted to the history of the collection of ancient coins belonging to this monastery, the origin of which was the acquisition, in 1747, of the then celebrated collection of Apostolo Zeno of Venice. Next follows a description of the select coins and rare pieces by M. Kenner, consisting of a series of separate papers containing much new and valuable matter. This explanatory text is arranged in the order of the plates which accompany the work. Many of the coins described are of great rarity, and there are some unique pieces; the Greek imperial series being unusually interesting and important. We must congratulate the monastery on having obtained the services of so able an archæologist as M. Kenner to make known to the numismatic world the wealth and scientific value of this choice cabinet.

B. V. HEAD.

“Le Monete delle Antiche Città di Sicilia descritte e illustrate da Antonio Salinas, Professore di Archeologia nell’ Università di Palermo.” Fascicoli I.—III., small fol. Palermo, 1871.”

This work, of which the first three parts have been published, will supply a want long felt by numismatists—viz., that of a scientific description of the ancient coins of Sicily. Castelli’s “*Siciliæ veteres nummi*,” which has been until now the only book on ancient Sicilian numismatics, by no means comes up to the requirements of the present day. It was published in the year 1781, and however useful it may have been, the science of numismatics has since then made vast strides, and the present work will doubtless take its place by the side of Carelli’s “*Numi Italiæ veteres*,” and thus for the first time the numismatics of ancient Italy and Sicily will be illustrated in a manner worthy of the present stage of archæological research. M. Salinas in this work follows a chronological arrangement of the coins of the various Sicilian towns according to the style of art

and the forms, more or less archaic, of the letters upon them. The towns themselves are arranged alphabetically. There is, however, one important deviation from the common classification of Sicilian coins—viz., those pieces which bear the names of tyrants or kings, and which in most cabinets are placed at the end of the towns, are in this work incorporated in their proper places under the towns over which the several tyrants held rule. This arrangement will doubtless contribute much to the clear appreciation of the contemporary style of art, and is infinitely superior to the old classification by types. The three parts just published are accompanied by eight plates, and include the coins of Sicily *in genere*, Abacænum, and Agri-gentum.

B. V. HEAD.

“Description Générale des Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne.”
By Aloïss Heiss. Paris, 1870.

This magnificent work, which forms a companion volume to the “*Monedas Hispano-Cristianas*,” by the same author, is a complete catalogue of, and an exhaustive treatise upon, all the known Celtiberian, Phœnician, Greek, and Latin coins of the various divisions of ancient Spain. The first part treats of the different coinages above mentioned, and contains much valuable information concerning the interpretation of the Celtiberian and Turdetanian inscriptions. The second part is a description of the coins. M. Heiss has adopted a geographical classification by *conventus* and by peoples, commencing with the North, and terminating with Bætica and Lusitania. Each town is separately considered; first, there is a succinct historical notice of the town itself, and then follows the series of its coins from their earliest origin until they ceased to be issued, arranged according to their several classes—Celtiberian, Punic, &c. The third part consists of lists of all the towns mentioned in the ancient geographers and historians, in the itineraries, and in the second volume of the “*Corpus inscr. Lat.*,” Berlin, 1869.”

The work concludes with copious tables of reference, and lists of magistrates' names; and last, but not least, sixty-eight splendid plates, on which are engraved the coins of every town mentioned in the work.

B. V. HEAD.

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